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HISTORIC CANNON BALLS AND HOUSES

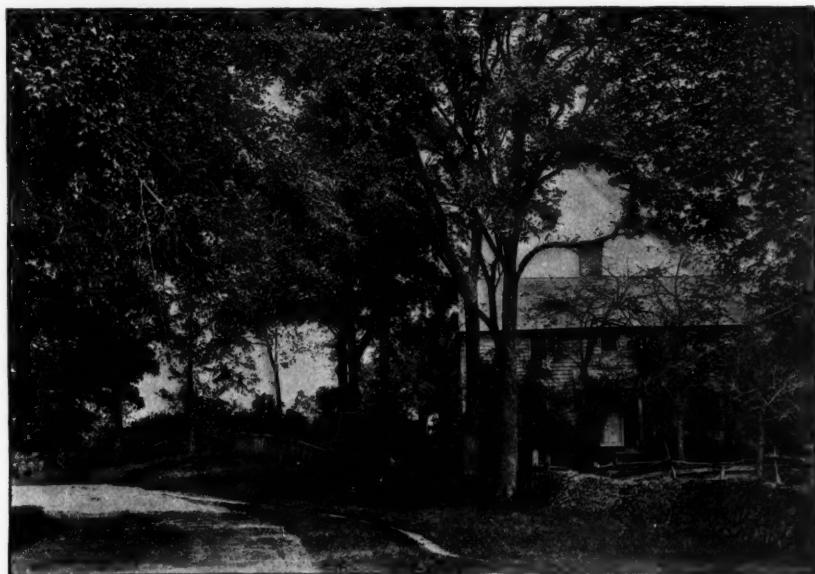
THE BRITISH INVASION OF CONNECTICUT IN 1777

I N the early spring of 1777 the sound of foreign invasion thrilled the colony of Connecticut with apprehension as the expeditionary force under Governor Tryon landed at Saugatuck Harbor bent upon the destruction of the commissary stores and munitions of war which the Continentals had accumulated at Danbury. As the British landed on the beach a number of the inhabitants gathered near a house on what for many years was known as the Hazard farm. A few cannon shot, one of which penetrated the farm-house, scattered the patriots, and the invaders took up their march towards Danbury. This house, after the retreat of the British, served as a hospital for the American wounded. And it was the home in early youth of Chancellor Kent. For many years he was fond of recurring to those startling times and the recollection of Tryon's expedition. "My mother sent me up stairs in the old house," he said, "for a gun and a bayonet that was in the back room near the chimney. They built all the chimneys in those days of stone in the centre of the house. While I was in search of the gun there came a cannon ball from the direction of the beach in at the south side of the house between the windows of the second story. It passed through the front room and entered the chimney directly opposite the spot on which I stood. I believe my mother was the most frightened of the two when she called me down and we all retreated. I never applied for a pension for this my Revolutionary service; but I have heard the crash of a cannon ball, and the world, may be, is indebted to that old chimney for Kent's *Commentaries*." This house was pulled down in 1822, when Judge John Q. Wilson, of Fairfield, who had heard of Kent's narrow escape, directed that special care be taken to find the cannon shot; and a few feet above the floor of the room a nine pound solid shot was disclosed embedded in the masonry of the chimney.

It was at this time that General Benedict Arnold, chagrined and chafing

under his imaginary wrongs and the delay of Washington and the Continental Congress to aid his promotion, happened to be visiting his sister at New Haven. Repairing at once to Redding, he there joined Generals Wooster and Silliman, the latter having hastily left his place at Fairfield, where he was plowing in the field when the courier dashed along the highroad warning the people of the landing of the enemy. Several hundred militia and patriots soon gathered from their farms and the neighboring villages. A consultation was then held between Wooster, Silliman, and Arnold. Finding that the King's troops had already completed the destruction not only of the public stores at Danbury, but of the greater portion of the town itself, all efforts to save that village were abandoned. It was determined, however, to harass and impede, if not defeat, the British invaders on their return from Danbury. An open battle between the few hundred rudely armed patriots and over two thousand Hessians and regulars with artillery, would have been madness. General Wooster, therefore, decided to hover about the rear of the retreating column, watching a favorable opportunity of attack, while in the meantime he dispatched Generals Arnold and Silliman, with about five hundred men, to intercept the British at Ridgefield. The roads and valleys had been the patriots' playground, and although they knew the enemy would endeavor to elude them, Arnold succeeded in reaching Ridgefield by following lanes and unfrequented roads, long before the sound of Wooster's attack disturbed the quiet of the peaceful village.

Arnold, on arriving at Ridgefield, hastily constructed a barricade across the highway at the north end of the street between the house then occupied by Benjamin Stebbins and a ledge of rocks to the west of the road. This is one of if not the oldest house in the town, having been built soon after the settlement. Its withered boards and shingles, dun and weather-stained by the sunshine and frosts of innumerable seasons, shaded by lofty trees and overhanging vines, speak of times now almost forgotten and of vague traditions of the past. Here it was that Arnold awaited the enemy's approach, fearless and undaunted, although the odds against him were overwhelming. The time was too short for much preparation, and only the rudest kind of a barricade was erected of wagons, logs, and carts. There was little military organization in a force gathered so hastily from different directions save in the obedience to a superior's orders. The greater portion of those who stood behind the barricade were unused to war, and had gone out to save their homes from destruction rather than to do battle with an enemy. It was Sunday morning. A thick mass of vapor hung over the earth with an occasional shower until about eleven o'clock, when



THE STEBBINS HOUSE. SCENE OF THE BATTLE.

[From a photograph by the Author.]

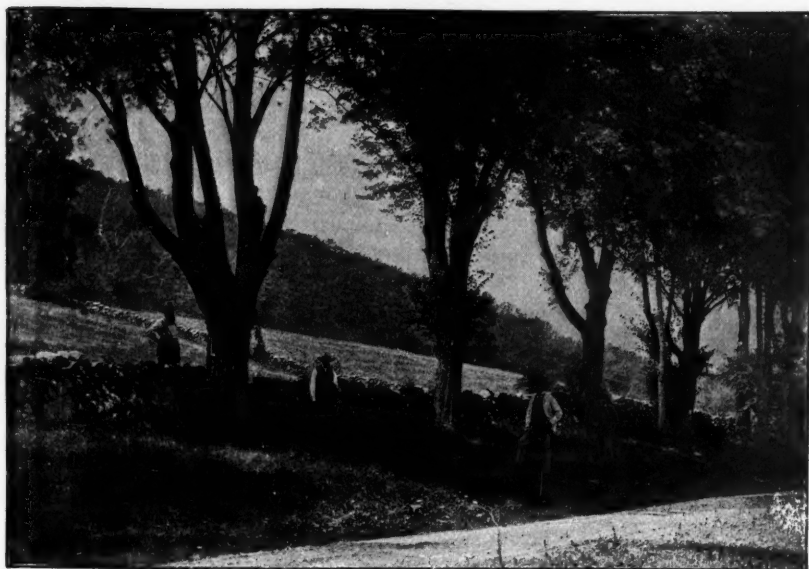
the sky lightened for a moment revealing the wooded slopes of the Danbury hills, blue and purple in the distance only again to be hidden by the sweeping masses of flying clouds. The British after leaving Danbury proceeded towards the Westchester line as far as Ridgebury, thinking thus to deceive the Continentals, when they turned abruptly to the south and took the road to Ridgefield through the ravine and across the rugged Asproom hills. When within a few miles of Ridgefield, near where the old school house stood, General Wooster, who had been following in their wake watching a favorable opportunity, fell upon the rear of the British column, and a sharp engagement ensued, in which forty Hessians were taken prisoners. Still the enemy continued their advance. Active and alert, General Wooster followed their trail, and where the ground presented a favorable place for another assault, at a point about a mile north of the Stebbins house at the forks of the road, one of which leads to North Salem, he led his men impetuously against the unbending ranks of the regulars. Smarting under the loss inflicted by his first attack, the British were now prepared to receive him with steady volleys of musketry and artillery which soon scattered the Continental troops.

General Wooster's indomitable courage, however, led him amidst the thickest of the fight, and while he was endeavoring to rally his men a musket ball passed through his body, and he fell from his horse mortally wounded. General Wooster was attended by Dr. Turner, a surgeon in the American service, who probed the wound, and finding it was mortal informed the general. He received the intelligence with unruffled calmness; as rapidly as convenient he was removed to Danbury, where, after lingering several days, he died and was buried. He was one of the eight brigadier-generals appointed by Washington in July, 1775, and at the time of his death held the first commission as major-general of militia of the state of Connecticut. The Continental Congress on June 17, 1777, resolved, "That a monument be erected to the memory of General Wooster with the following inscription: In honor of David Wooster, brigadier-general in the army of the United States. In defending the liberties of America and bravely repelling an inroad of the British forces to Danbury, in Connecticut, he received a mortal wound on the 27th day of April, 1777, and died on the 2^d day of May following. The Congress of the United States as an acknowledgment of his merit and services have caused this monument to be erected. Resolved, that the executive power of the state of Connecticut be requested to carry the foregoing resolution into execution, and that five hundred dollars be allowed for that purpose." The money, however, was never paid. No tombstone or mark of his last resting place was ever erected, and the grave of this hero was soon unknown. His dust mingled with the earth neglected and forgotten.

In 1854, a handsome monument was erected to his memory in Danbury. The shaft is of Portland granite, and bears the following inscription:

David Wooster
First Major General of the Connecticut troops
in the army of the Revolution;
Brigadier General of the United Colonies.
Born at Hartford, March 2, 1710 or 11;
Wounded at Ridgefield, April 27, 1777. while defending
the liberties of America
And nobly died at Danbury
May 2, 1777.

With General Wooster's fall this part of the conflict ended. Stephen Rowe Bradley, then an aide-de-camp to General Wooster, assumed command, and gathering his scattered troops together retired from the field in good order. By his cool judgment and pluck the remnant of this small



THE SPOT WHERE GENERAL WOOSTER FELL.

[From a photograph by the Author.]

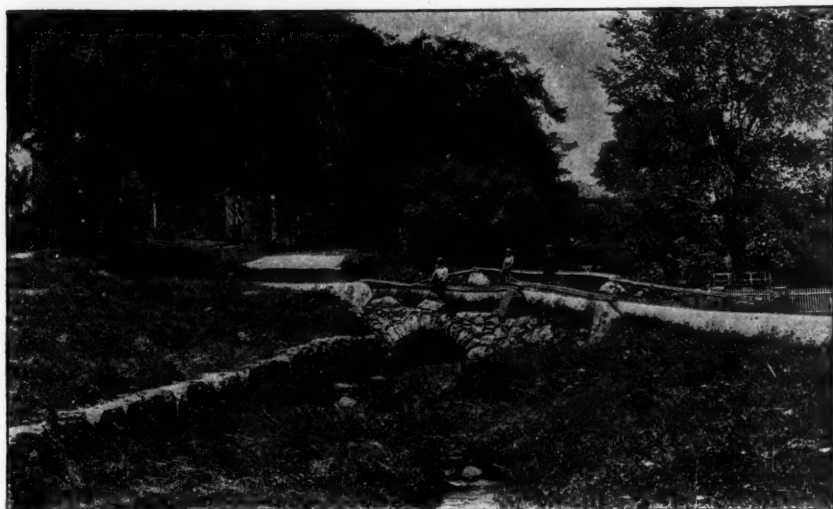
force was saved from being routed. Bradley served with distinction throughout the Revolution, and rose to the rank of colonel. He was one of the first pioneers who went to Vermont and aided in obtaining its recognition as a state, and which he represented for sixteen years in the United States Senate. It was to his bold action in the caucus that arbitrarily assumed the nomination of Madison, that the latter became President.

The sound of Wooster's onslaught was reverberated from West Mountain's rugged cliffs along the valley. Arnold and his men awaited the approaching storm with breathless anxiety. At about noon the British, advancing in three columns, came within range, when General Agnew ordered the artillery to attack.* When within musket-shot the engagement became general and continued for nearly an hour. Being unable to dislodge the Continentals in front, a strong body of Hessians under Agnew finally turned the left of Arnold's position. A column of infantry suddenly ap-

* The gold inkstand which General Agnew carried in his pocket on this occasion became the property of his granddaughter, Mrs. Harman Blennerhasset, of Blennerhasset Island, in the Ohio River, and is now in the possession of her descendants.—EDITOR.

peared over the ledge of rocks and deliberately discharged a volley at General Arnold at a distance of not more than thirty yards. He miraculously escaped without a scratch, but his horse fell under him pierced by nine musket balls. As his horse went down General Arnold's foot became entangled in the stirrup. A soldier eager to take advantage of his embarrassed position rushed forward to bayonet him exclaiming: "You are my sprioner!" "Not yet!" replied Arnold; "One live man is worth ten dead ones!" and quickly drawing a pistol from its holster he shot the soldier dead. It has always been the tradition that the soldier was a Tory from Milford by the name of Coon. This fortunate shot saved Arnold's life and enabled him to make a hasty retreat, which he did by vaulting over a gate and seeking the shelter of the thick undergrowth of a swamp. He was repeatedly fired at but marvelously escaped being hit. The fact that Arnold's horse received nine bullets was vouched for by a farmer who with some boys skinned the horse the following day. The heroism of General Arnold on that day excited the admiration of his countrymen, and on May 20, following, Congress directed the quartermaster-general to procure a horse and present the same, properly caparisoned, to Major-General Arnold in the name of Congress, as a token of its approbation of his gallant conduct in the action against the enemy in its late enterprise to Danbury.

The fight at the Stebbins house was stubborn and bloody. Between forty and fifty Americans were killed. Colonel Abraham Gould was shot about eighty yards east of the Stebbins house and his body carried on his horse to his home in Fairfield, where he was buried. His sash and uniform are now in the Trumbull Gallery at New Haven. Lieutenant Middlebrooks and Lieutenant William Thompson were also killed. Colonel John Benjamin was seriously wounded in the neck by buck-shot. Lieutenant De Forest was shot in the leg, and Captain Ebenezer Coe was painfully wounded in the head and right eye. Several of the dead were buried underneath an apple-tree, long since decayed, back of the house now the residence of Mr. Abner Gilbert. At the time of the battle Benjamin Stebbins occupied the Stebbins house. He was a cripple and could not get away. His son, Josiah Stebbins, sympathized with the cause of the Royalists, and happened to accompany the British force from Danbury. The old house was several times set on fire, but the young man succeeded in putting it out, and in this way the house was saved. His crippled father, however, had a narrow escape. In the midst of the conflict he sought seclusion in a little bedroom with a window looking out on the meadow to the east, as the bullets were rattling through the gable end of the old homestead on the roadway. The window was open. All at once a mus-



TITICAS BRIDGE, OVER WHICH THE BRITISH RETREATED.

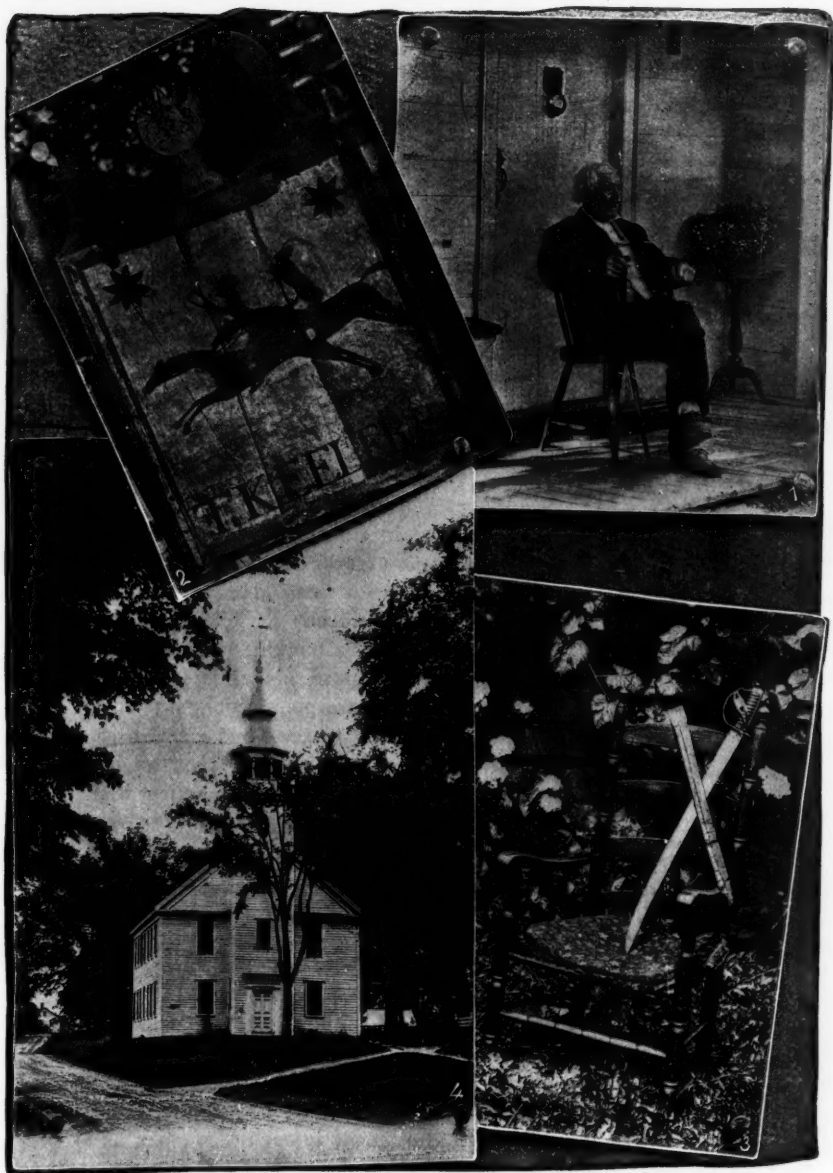
[From a photograph by the Author.]

ket ball whizzed close by his head and ripped a long ragged hole through the bedroom door. The room still remains in the same condition and the door still swings on its rusty hinges. The house was riddled with bullets and struck several times by solid shot. There are three cannon balls yet to be seen at the house, two twelve and one six pounder. Many others have been lost or carried away. During the battle the Stebbins house answered the purpose of a hospital for the wounded, and blood stains, which are said to have flowed from the wounds of a young British officer who died there, are to be seen on the seasoned oak floor of the long west room. The old well now stands as it then stood and supplies the best of waters, as it did on that April day to the suffering men who lay in agony within its kindly aid. It has been thought that the battle ended with the attack by Wooster and the fight at the Stebbins house. This is probably incorrect. There are strong reasons for the belief that as the British advanced their progress through the town was contested with stubborn bravery. Had this not been so they would not have had to employ their artillery after dislodging the patriots from behind the barricade; and that artillery was used throughout their progress through the village is beyond controversy.

Besides the cannon balls at the Stebbins house a solid six-pound shot was unearthed a few years ago by Mr. Hoyt while repairing the highway opposite the residence of Governor Lounsbury. It was three feet below the surface, and had rusted away considerably. Then there is the famous shot embedded in the Keeler tavern; and a quarter of a mile beyond, Mr. Benedict, while excavating for the purpose of erecting a barn, dug up another cannon ball together with several bullets. The recovery of these cannon balls at different places, covering a distance of over a mile, and along a street running in diverse directions, indicates a continuous engagement. The fight was maintained through the town, the Redcoats pressing steadily forward, and the patriots falling stubbornly back. Several cannon balls passed through the Keeler tavern. One four-pounder struck a solid hewn oak timber and firmly embedded itself in the hard wood, where for over a century it has been, and is to-day an object of the greatest interest. This side of the house is in deep shadow, but by means of a mirror a ray of sunlight was thrown into the opening in the shingles and a photograph thus obtained of the cannon ball as it rests deep in the timber. A short distance beyond Mr. Benedict's lies the ridge where the British encamped for the night. Until recently it has been used as a fair ground. Mr. Northup, who lives opposite, picked up, some thirty years ago, a lead button, evidently one of the very first used on the Continental uniforms, with the monogram U. S. A. in relief. After burning several houses and destroying considerable property the British, on the morning of the 28th, struck their tents, and resumed their march towards the Sound.

The town of Ridgefield was laid out by the original proprietors in 1709. The houses are dotted along a street over a mile in length and one hundred and twenty feet in width. Two continuous rows of lofty elm, maple and sycamore trees line the road. On each side of the drive is a footpath cut from the green sod that lies under the majestic trees. This quaint old village may have larger and richer rivals—it certainly has none fairer.

That Ridgefield was the birthplace and early home of Peter Parley (S. G. Goodrich) should alone give the place an interest to those persons who remember how, as children, they read and wondered at his delightful stories, and whose illustrated and attractive books of education were the first relief experienced from the daily drudgery of school life. When but four years of age, in 1794, his family removed from the old house to the new, now the residence of John Alsop King, Esq., and it was there that the days of his boyhood were passed. The original house still remains, although an addition has been put on, and the house painted. It is the



1 OLD ENGLISH DOOR AND KNOCKER, RIDGEFIELD INN.
2 OLD SWINGING SIGN, RIDGEFIELD INN.

3 SWORD AND SCABBARD, THE GIFT OF LAFAYETTE.
4 OLD CHURCH ON THE VILLAGE GREEN.

most southerly of the residences that surmount High Ridge, and commands a beautiful view in every direction. The old homestead of General Joshua King stands on the main street. It was to General King's custody that Major Andre was entrusted immediately after his capture. General King was then a lieutenant in the second regiment of Light Dragoons stationed at South Salem. In a letter to a friend he has preserved a most interesting account of Andre when brought to him a prisoner.

"Ridgefield, June 17. 1817.

Dear Sir:

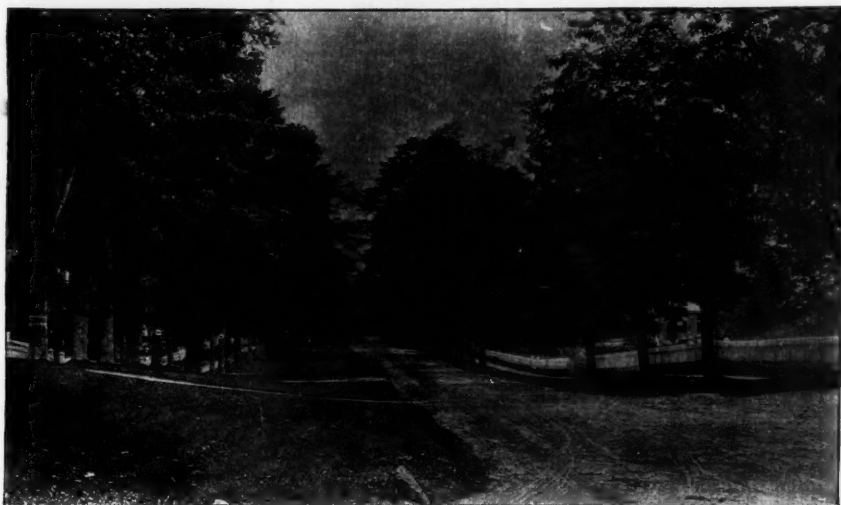
. . . I was the first and only officer who had charge of Andre whilst at the Headquarters of the 2nd Regiment of Light Dragoons, which was then at Esquire Gilbert's in South Salem. He was brought up by an adjutant and four men belonging to the Connecticut militia under the command of Lieut. Col. Jamison from the lines near Tarrytown, a character under the disguised name of John Anderson. He looked somewhat like a reduced gentleman. His small clothes were nankin, with long white top boots, in part, his undress military suit. His coat purple, with gold lace, worn somewhat threadbare, with a small-brimmed tarnished beaver on his head. He wore his hair in a queue with long, black band and his clothes somewhat dirty. In this garb I took charge of him.



CANNON BALL IN THE TIMBER, KEELER'S TAVERN.

[From a photograph by the Author.]

After breakfast my barber came in to dress me, after which I requested him to undergo the same operation, which he did. When the ribbon was taken from his hair, I observed it full of powder. This circumstance, with others that occurred induced me to believe I had no ordinary person in charge. He requested permission to take the bed, whilst his shirt and small clothes could be washed. I told him that was needless for a change was at his service, which he accepted. We were close pent up in a bedroom with a guard at the door and window. There was a spacious yard before the door which he desired he might be permitted to walk in with me. I accordingly disposed the guard in such a manner as to prevent an escape. While walking together, he observed, he must make a confidant of somebody and he knew not a more proper person than



THE VILLAGE STREET IN RIDGEFIELD.

[From a photograph by the Author.]

myself, as I had appeared to befriend a stranger in distress. After settling the point between ourselves he told me who he was and gave me a short account of himself from the time he was taken at St. Johns in 1775 to that time. He requested pen and ink and wrote immediately to Gen. Washington declaring who he was. About midnight the express returned with orders from Gen. Washington to Col. Sheldon to send Major Andre immediately to Headquarters."

J. Howard King, Esq., has in his possession the chair used by Major Andre while in General King's custody at Squire Gilbert's house, in South Salem, and seated in which he penned his letter to General Washington.

At the commencement of the Revolution Ridgefield was strongly under Tory influence. When the first signs of the impending conflict became manifest the towns-people, at a special town meeting held January 30, 1775, to consider the action of the late Continental Congress, resolved not to adopt or conform therewith, and publicly disapproved of and protested against said Congress and the measures adopted by it as unconstitutional. Not content with this rebuke to the spirit of patriotism, the meeting proceeded to pass a series of resolutions in acknowledgment of his most sacred majesty, King George the Third; the three branches of the legislature, the King, the House of Lords, and the House of Commons, and ordered

that the resolutions be printed in New York that "they may be published to the world." Although those who succeeded in carrying these resolutions were few in number, the emphatic language they used in denouncing the spirit of liberty caused bitter discord and separated the village in factional controversy. The sturdy American could not submit to such humiliation, and the young patriots determined to remove, if possible, what they considered a blot upon their town records. They, therefore, called two town meetings, one on March 7, 1775, and one on April 10, 1775, for the purpose of reconsidering the resolution of January 30, 1775, but were unsuccessful. Finally, however, at a town meeting held December 17, 1775, it was unanimously resolved to disannul the resolution of January 30, 1775, and to adopt and approve of the Continental Congress. This early but persistent fight was the first stand taken by the villagers in the struggle for independence, and although now no details remain of how bitter and hostile it must have been, the flame of true patriotism, once ignited in the inhabitants, continued to burn with unwavering fidelity until liberty was proclaimed throughout the land. The town meetings were always held in the Congregational Meeting House. The present building was erected at the beginning of the present century, on the same site occupied by the original church, and in the centre of the village green.

The Keeler tavern stands to-day as it stood on the day of the battle; and in the generations that have since passed away one can fancy seeing the Boston and New York coaches draw up under its quaint swinging sign, as they always used to do, while the relays of horses were changed. The original sign was taken down in 1856, so as to preserve it from further decay, after having kept tune on its creaking hinges since 1794. Ridgefield was on the great thoroughfare between the two cities, and the stage coach took four days in ordinary weather to make the journey. Many distinguished men have put up for the night at "Keeler's," as the tavern was familiarly called. In the old days it was the custom to erect buildings with the gable end towards the highway, and this is frequently the striking feature of an old house. The tavern was so built, and from the front porch a beautiful view of the rolling country towards Danbury is obtained. The old sign-board bears four dates upon its faded sides, showing how often it must have been retouched in order to attract wayfarers along the public road. One of the doors is over two inches thick, studded with hand-wrought nails, and is guarded over by an English lion-faced knocker of determined mien. T. Keeler, the name on the old sign-board was Squire Timothy Keeler, a grandson of one of the original settlers of Ridgefield. He maintained the tavern for many years



THE OLD RIDGEFIELD INN (THE KEELER TAVERN), WITH ITS SWINGING SIGN.

[From a photograph by the Author.]

as a favorite resort for the traveling public. At no other place on the road was the fare so well and daintily served, the linen so crisp and white, or the welcome more hearty. Squire Keeler's youngest daughter, Anna, married Abijah Resseguie who has recently died, and who, although ninety-six years of age, was always glad to talk over the recollections of the many years of his control over the destinies of the old inn with the same vivacity and zest as when the powdered-haired and knee-buckled aristocrats dismounted at his door. His pleasant greeting and cordial and courteous manner were retained till the last.

For many years there was a small addition attached to the tavern and used as a store. "I remember," said Mr. Resseguie, "when it was the daily custom for farmers to bring in wood-ashes and barter them for goods." In the autumn of 1804, says Samuel Goodrich (Peter Parley) in his *Recollections of a Lifetime*, I remember Jerome Bonaparte coming up to Keeler's tavern with a coach and four, attended by his young wife, Miss Patterson, of Baltimore. It was a gay establishment, and the honeymoon sat happily on the tall sallow strapping and his young bride. Another event I remember, and that is the celebration of the inauguration of Jefferson, March 4, 1801. The old field piece, a four-pounder, which had been stuck, muzzle down, as a horse-post, at Keeler's tavern, since

the fight of 1777, was dug up, swabbed and fired off sixteen times, that being the number of states then in the Union. At first the cannon had a somewhat stifled and wheezing tone, but this soon grew louder, and at last the hills re-echoed to the rejoicing of democracy from High Ridge to West Mountain.

This allusion to the old cannon is most suggestive. The fact that it had remained as a horse-post since the battle is stated positively. Mr. Goodrich makes the assertion upon his own personal knowledge, for he



VIEW OF THE DANBURY HILLS FROM THE KEELER TAVERN, RIDGEFIELD, CONNECTICUT.

says it is an event which he remembers. The caliber, a four-pounder, is the same as the shot lodged in the tavern. It would appear, therefore, that a four-pounder field-piece was either captured from or abandoned by the British at the battle of Ridgefield, for it was not until after the battle, and while the British were endeavoring to re-embark at Compo, that the Americans were reinforced by artillery. There three pieces of General John Lamb's artillery joined Arnold, and rendered important service in the fight at the bridge.

With the patriots who participated in the battle of Ridgefield was Jeremiah Keeler, a lad of about seventeen. His young spirit then became kindled with patriotic fever, and thenceforth he entered boldly into the service of his country. Joining the Continental army he quickly rose to the position of orderly sergeant in the Light Infantry under La Fayette. He was often called upon to perform hazardous and important service re-

quiring skill and judgment, and for his bravery on one occasion he was presented with a sword by General La Fayette. During the last days of the siege of Yorktown two redoubts greatly annoyed the men at work in the trenches by a flanking fire. It was determined to capture the redoubts by assault. This duty was entrusted to the American Light Infantry under La Fayette, and Sergeant Keeler was among the foremost in scaling the breastworks. Sergeant Keeler witnessed the surrender of Cornwallis, and after the disbandment of the army in 1783, he returned to Ridgefield on foot, using the sword presented to him by La Fayette as a cane. The lower part of the leather scabbard was worn out in the long homeward tramp. The sword and the scabbard are carefully preserved and may both be seen in the picture on page 193. Upon reaching Ridgefield he settled a few hundred yards beyond the Westchester line, in the town of Lewisboro, where, in 1788, he built himself a house in which he passed the remainder of his days. He had twelve children, and the old place is now occupied by his granddaughter, Miss Hulda Keeler.

Clifford A. H. Bartlett

NEW YORK AND OHIO'S CENTENNIAL

Nothing perhaps is more suggestive of the marvelous growth of the United States than the fact that in April Ohio will celebrate the centennial, not of her admission into the Union, but of the first white settlement within her borders. The old states are young enough, but here is one only dreamed of when the federal constitution was adopted, which during the short life of the republic has stepped forward into the third place in numbers, with a population second to none in prosperity, intelligence and virtue. Her people may well feel proud of their record and all the Union will be interested in the anniversary which rounds out such a century of progress.

Some of the other states however take more than a mere sisterly interest in this occasion. They claim to stand towards Ohio in a nearer relation, and as this is a historical question, it will not seem like a raking over of dead embers to look into the nature of these claims. If an old, it certainly is not a familiar story.

The passage in 1787 of the ordinance for the government of the Northwestern Territory has always been regarded as one of the important events in American history. It dedicated to freedom this vast domain, then the property of the general government, and laid the foundations of the five great free states of Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Michigan and Wisconsin. An event with such far-reaching consequences may well be deemed important, and has naturally attracted universal attention; but a curious illustration of the manner in which American history has been written is afforded by the fact, that so little is known of the mode in which the United States acquired this territory, although the formation of the Union turned upon the question of its acquisition. In some respects this neglected piece of history is of more importance than the other which is so familiar.

Consult the ordinary school books, or even more pretentious works, and one will learn that the country lying north-west of the Ohio river, was embraced within the chartered limits of Virginia, and was by that state magnanimously ceded to the general government. Some one has well said, that the fables of one generation become the accepted facts of another and the crystallized history of the third. Few better illustrations of the truth of this statement can be found than is afforded by the present example.

By the Treaty of Paris, executed in 1763, at the conclusion of the war which gave to England the mastery upon this continent, France surrendered to Great Britain all claims to that portion of America lying east of the Mississippi river. The English colonies at that time lay along the Atlantic seaboard, none of them extending beyond the Appalachian or Alleghany Mountains. Westward of the limits of their settlements stretched an expanse of territory much larger and more fertile than that covered by the entire thirteen colonies. Twelve years later the revolutionary struggle opened. As the war progressed and it became apparent that the colonists were to be successful, the question of the title to this imperial domain rose to great importance. To the whole of the region now embraced within the boundaries of Kentucky, Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Michigan and Wisconsin, Virginia and New York made each an exclusive claim, while Massachusetts and Connecticut asserted title to strips of the northern portion. Against such pretensions the other states stood out, arguing with great force that territory wrested from the common enemy should be considered as joint property to be disposed of by Congress for the common good. Dissensions over this question became so earnest that Maryland declined to join the Confederation until its settlement. Meantime, Virginia, whose population was three times that of New York, assumed to close the controversy by opening an office for the sale of her western lands. Maryland was now more than ever determined not to sign the Articles of Confederation, and the withdrawal of some of the other states seemed imminent. At this crisis, while the infant Union was trembling in the balance, New York stepped forward with a magnanimity unsurpassed in history. On the first of March, 1781, her delegates in Congress, by virtue of an act of the legislature passed the year before, at the suggestion of the patriotic General Philip Schuyler, stood up in their places and made a thrilling announcement. It was that they, on behalf of their state, had executed to the general government a deed of all the disputed territory in the West, lying beyond the present limits of New York. So well satisfied were the majority of Congress that this cession carried the whole title, that upon its announcement the delegates from Maryland formally ratified the Articles of Confederation, and the Union was at length complete.

Meantime Connecticut and Virginia, lamely following in New York's footsteps, had also authorized deeds of cession. The act of Connecticut, however, provided simply for transferring to the United States her title to such parts of the land claimed by her in the North-west, as should be in proportion to the cessions made by the other claimants, but without any

right to jurisdiction over the land thus ceded. The act of Virginia was equally objectionable. It authorized a conveyance only of the land northwest of the Ohio, and that upon condition among others, that the United States should guarantee her remaining territory, including Kentucky, which was part of the disputed tract. These proposed cessions, with that from New York which had not yet been accepted by Congress, were now referred to a committee of that body for an investigation. That committee, consisting of five members, made a long and careful examination. On the third of November, 1781, they brought in a unanimous report, deciding that New York had the only title, and giving their reasons in full for this decision. They accordingly recommended that the deed from New York should be accepted, and that from Virginia declined. On the twenty-ninth of October, 1782, Congress accepted New York's cession, while that from Virginia was subsequently rejected.

Following this decision of Congress, Virginia authorized another deed of cession, still excluding Kentucky, but stripped of the objectionable features of the prior act. This quitclaim was received with favor. Massachusetts and Connecticut subsequently released their claims to the whole territory north-west of the Ohio, except about four million acres, known as the "Western Reserve," which Connecticut held on to and finally absorbed. Washington and many others protested against this action of Connecticut. But Virginia had in the same manner dealt with the whole territory of Kentucky, and the overwhelming desire for peace and conciliation at last permitted each of these states to retain the proceeds of the land which they reserved. Thus the disputed claims were settled forever.

Such is a brief outline of a transaction, which is one of the most momentous in our history. Prior to these cessions, the Confederation had no property. It was simply a naked league of thirteen separate states fighting for their independence, to which victory would probably bring disintegration. The acquisition of this territory made these states common owners of a vast domain, large and apparently valuable enough to enrich them all. Thenceforth the American Union was a foregone conclusion.

The most curious fact about this subject is the mode in which it has been treated by the historians, none of whom so much as allude to the report of the congressional committee with the vast amount of evidence by which it was supported. Bancroft entirely ignores the whole matter. Hildreth dismisses it with a few words. Curtis alone, in his *History of the Constitution*, recognizes the title and does full justice to the noble spirit of New York; but even he gives none of the facts from which the

reader can draw his own conclusions. New York has had no historian to tell her story, and so Virginia, the mother of our presidents, and New England, the maker of our school books, have gone on claiming this as their gift until the current histories are full of it, and it finds its way into so high a publication as the *Statistical Atlas*, compiled by General Walker, the superintendent of the census, and published by the general government. This Atlas contains a map showing that Virginia, Massachusetts and Connecticut gave the North-western Territory to the United States, New York being entirely ignored. It is the object of the present paper, in vindication of the committee of 1781, and the Congress of 1782, to show that the decision in favor of New York was supported by the evidence, and was based on well-settled principles of law and equity. In one direction the examination is not without a present interest, for it throws a side light on the Indian problem, which is to-day and for years to come will be a living question.

Virginia vigorously opposed the appointment of the committee of 1781, and when it was appointed refused to lay any proofs before it. In fact she had none, except one document which was perfectly well known, the famous charter of 1609. On this her statesmen rested their claims to the whole North-west. By that instrument James I. granted to "The Treasurer and Company of Adventurers and Planters of the City of London for the First Colony in Virginia," a tract of land along the sea coast extending for two hundred miles in each direction north and south from Old Point Comfort, "and all that space and circuit of land lying from the sea coast of the precinct aforesaid up into the land throughout from sea to sea, west and north-west."

In 1624 this charter was annulled by legal proceedings, and thenceforth Virginia continued a royal province, but during the American Revolution her people claimed that the boundaries of the province were co-extensive with those of the chartered colony. This position was not correct, for after the cancellation of the charter the ancient limits of the colony were totally disregarded by the mother country. In 1632, Lord Baltimore received his patent for Maryland, the Carolina proprietors received theirs in 1663 and 1665, and Pennsylvania was granted to William Penn in 1681. Each of these grants infringed on the four hundred miles of sea coast of the Virginia Company, but no one thought of questioning their validity. But conceding for the sake of the argument that the position was correct which Virginia assumed at a later day, two questions still remained.

First.—What were the western bonds of the colony under the charter

of 1609? Second.—What right had King James to make a grant extending, as was claimed for this, to the Pacific Ocean?

The first of these questions was ably discussed in 1780 by Thomas Paine in a pamphlet entitled *Public Good*, in answer to the position that Virginia, under her charter, took in all the north-western portion of the continent. In that production the author shows the absurdity of basing a legal claim upon words of description so indefinite as "from sea to sea west and north-west." Such a description in a private deed would render it void for uncertainty, and there was nothing in the circumstances of this case to take it out of the ordinary rule. But aside from this there is another objection pointed out by the same author which is equally fatal. The boundaries of the grant began at Point Comfort and ran north two hundred miles, then south the same distance, and finally back into the country "west and north-west." By all rules of legal construction the west line should have been drawn from the northern Atlantic boundary, and the north-west line from the southern, and not in the reverse mode as Virginia claimed. The effect of this would have been to make of Virginia a right-angled triangle with an area somewhat larger than that of the state before its recent division. The fact that it contained the words "from sea to sea" does not militate against this construction. With the vague ideas of geography prevalent at that time, the South sea was thought to be near the Atlantic coast, and expeditions were fitted out to reach it by sailing up the James and Chickahominy rivers (*Maryland's Influence in Founding a National Commonwealth*, by Prof. H. B. Adams, p. 8). Under such circumstances the strict construction of the words of the grant as given above would better conform to the intentions of the crown, than one which would carry the boundaries three thousand miles westward and embrace the larger portion of a continent.

But, be all this as it may, the second question is of more importance, for it furnishes an answer not only to the claims of Virginia, but to those of Massachusetts and Connecticut, who insisted that their early grants also carried them westward to the Pacific Ocean. The English sovereign clearly could grant no more than he possessed. His letters patent would convey only what he owned at the time that they were sealed. They would not operate like a warranty deed from an individual to carry property subsequently acquired, but on the contrary are to be construed strictly in favor of the crown and against the grantee. These principles of law are perfectly well settled. The question, therefore, resolves itself into this: when James the First made his grant to the Virginia Company in 1609, how far into the interior did he own?

To answer this question, we must disabuse our minds of the general impression that England possessed a title to the continent by virtue of Cabot's discovery in 1497. The prior discovery of the New World by Spain stood in the way of such a claim, and the latter's title had been strengthened by a papal grant. To meet this difficulty England laid down the principle that occupation following discovery alone gave any valid rights. Yet the proposition as thus stated was full of practical embarrassments, and these became greater as time went on. If occupation was essential, how much of an occupation was required? If a strip of sea coast was settled, how far into the interior did the title thus acquired extend, and in what direction should the lines be run? Spain settled Florida, France took possession of the St. Lawrence, and England founded colonies along the Atlantic coast. If the lines were run east and west, England would have a prior claim, but if north and south, Spain and France would well nigh absorb the continent. These are but suggestions of some of the questions which were raised, but they will suffice to show their character. To partly meet the difficulty it was laid down that discovery and occupation of the sea coast would confer a title for a reasonable distance into the interior, but this left the question almost as indefinite as before. At this juncture England put forth a doctrine which she thenceforth adhered to without deviation. When Cabot sailed along the American coast he may have considered the continent as unoccupied. It certainly was upon such a supposition that the nations of Europe parceled it out among themselves. But when actual settlement was attempted this error was speedily discovered. The ashes of burned dwellings and the bleaching bones of colonists, stretching from Maine to Georgia, revealed the fact that the country was not unoccupied. The realization of this truth introduced a modification of the doctrine that discovery and occupation gave a title to the soil. This change consisted in the addition of the element that the right acquired by discovery followed by occupation was that of obtaining the soil from the natives by purchase or conquest. In this form the legal principle continued down through the colonial days, was adopted by the United States, formulated by Chief Justice Marshall in the great case of *Johnson against McIntosh*, reported in 8th *Wheaton*, and has received the assent of Kent and Story. It was in view of this principle that Lord Holt said in the latter part of the seventeenth and Blackstone in the last quarter of the eighteenth century that the American colonies were obtained by conquest.

The introduction of this doctrine placed the Indians in a very different relation to the English from that which is assigned to them by vulgar

opinion. Some of them were thenceforth treated as nations with whom treaties could be made, and from whom rights could be acquired, and not as barbarians having no rights that white men were bound to respect. These considerations are important, for though established by an overwhelming mass of testimony, most historians pass them over in silence. One thing is very clear: so far as the North-western Territory is concerned, England never so much as lisped a claim to it founded on the discovery of Cabot, or on any title acquired before the Virginia Charter of 1609. Her only claim, as will be shown hereafter, was of a very different character, that of a protectorate established by treaty at a much later day, over the property of Indians who resided within the borders of New York.

When the Europeans landed in North America they found a considerable part of the continent controlled by a confederacy of natives, whom the French named the Iroquois and the English the Five Nations. The confederacy was composed of five tribes, the Mohawks, Oneidas, Onondagas, Cayugas and Senecas. Beginning with the Mohawks, who were located about forty miles west of Albany, these allied tribes extended for about two hundred miles along the Mohawk and the plains of western New York. In 1712 the Tuscaroras, a tribe located in Carolina, became involved in a war with their white neighbors, in which they were defeated. The scattered remnants of this people fled to New York, and were, about 1715, adopted as a member of the confederacy, being distributed between the Oneidas and Onondagas. After their arrival the confederacy was known as the Six Nations.

Among the Iroquois, alone do we find the Indian of the novelist and poet. The records of other tribes show no trace of eloquence, but these were a nation of orators, Logan and Red Jacket of modern times tell something of their power. As diplomatists too they have rarely been surpassed, but it was as warriors that they stand preëminent. When Henry Hudson visited America, they roamed as conquerors "from the St. Lawrence to Virginia, half of Long Island paid them tribute, and a Mohawk sachem was revered on Massachusetts Bay." The next three-quarters of a century saw their empire so extended that it stretched from far above the great Lakes to the Carolinas, and was bounded only by the Mississippi on the west (2 *Bancroft*, 418; 1 *Smith*, 224; 1 *Parkman's Conspiracy of Pontiac*, 7; *De Witt Clinton's Address on the Iroquois*). To their conquests the geographical situation of central New York largely contributed. Other tribes were hemmed in by mountains or by boundless barren wastes. No such barriers impeded their progress. Their "Long House," as it was called, lay on the crest of the most wonderful watershed

in the world. On the north they had water communication with the St. Lawrence and the Lakes, while on the south and west, the Hudson, Delaware, Susquehanna, Alleghany and Ohio afforded them highways to a large portion of the continent. Launching their light canoes on the streams which flowed from their hunting ground as from a mighty fountain, they could in time of need hurl an overwhelming force upon almost any foe. By nature the bravest and most relentless of the savage tribes, their long career of conquest had intensified their native traits. Sage in council, wily in diplomacy and fearless in battles, they have well been named the Romans of America.

The conquests of the Iroquois were not like those of some rude races who simply march across a country and call it theirs. They planted colonies among some of their subjects and levied perpetual tribute on others. Cadwallader Colden bore witness to this in the middle of the last century, and Sir William Johnson, writing to the Board of Trade in 1763, after describing their vast conquests says: "Their claim to the Ohio and thence to the Lakes is not in the least disputed by the Shawanese, Delawares, etc., who never transacted any sales of land or other matters without their consent."

For nearly a century and a half these native tribes held the balance of power while England and France contended for dominion upon the continent. It was a great conflict, the old battle between priest-craft and free thought, feudalism and self-government. Progress was pitted against retrogression; the future fought against the past. The result, looking back, seems free from doubt, but for many years victory wavered in the balance. The French had great advantages, their power was concentrated, they had a single head, and their people were born soldiers. On the other hand, the English were scattered in little settlements along a straggling line of sea coast, had no war policy, no head and no concert of action. In addition, the French had as allies substantially all the Indian tribes except the Six Nations. Had these also joined them, the best authorities are agreed that the English would have been driven from the continent, and that we should have had here a Gallic and not an Anglo-Saxon civilization. That the French could never win over the Six Nations is one of the curious facts of history, deserving much more attention than it has ever yet received. It was due to the presence in Central New York of the Hollanders who settled Albany and the Mohawk Valley. How the New Englanders treated the Indian is known to every reader. The red man robbed of his land, despised as an outcast, and with friends and kindred kidnapped and sold into slavery, retaliated after his fashion and

made the land one broad field of massacre. Very different was the fate of Central New York, simply because the conduct of its settlers was so different. The whole secret consisted in the fact that they treated the Indian as a man. Tolerant in religion, they respected his rude faith; truthful among themselves, to him they never broke their word; honest in all their dealings, with him they kept good faith. They suffered from no thefts, because they took nothing except by purchase. Their land titles were respected, because for every tract they had an Indian deed. They were scourged by no massacres, save from the enemy across the borders, because they committed no robbery or murder.

Almost as soon as the Hollanders landed at Albany they made a treaty of friendship with the confederates. This was continued until the English occupation, and then renewed, the Dutch influence still being paramount. In 1684 the Indians asked the English governor to affix the arms of the Duke of York on their stockaded villages or castles. In 1692 the sachems of the Five Nations said to Major Ingoldesby at Albany: "Brother Corlaer, we are all the subjects of one great King and Queen" (1 *Smith*, 123). And in 1698 Lord Bellomont, in a letter to Frontenac, the governor of Canada, said it could be manifested to all the world by authenticated solid proofs that the Five Nations were always considered as subjects of the king of England (1 *Smith*, 148). These among many incidents of the same character, would seem to show that the confederates regarded the adoption of the Duke of York's arms as something more than the acquisition of a charm. But whatever was its significance to them, one fact is very clear: after the treaty of 1684 the English claimed the Five Nations as subjects who had voluntarily sought their protection, and whom it was their duty and privilege to guard.

During the long and bloody wars which followed the English Revolution, the status of the Five Nations as subjects of Great Britain was stubbornly contested by the French. They strove in every way to seduce the confederates from their allegiance, and if the English alone had opposed their projects, they doubtless would have been successful. That they failed signally, was due to the influence of Colonel Peter Schuyler, a Dutchman and the first mayor of Albany. Whatever "Quidder," as they called him, recommended or disapproved of, had the force of law. He gained his power by repeated acts of kindness, and by his singular activity and bravery in defense of the province. His house in Albany was the headquarters of the confederates when they visited the city, and he seriously impaired his private fortune by the gifts which he lavished on their chiefs. Finally, in 1710, he at his own expense, conducted five Mo-

hawk warriors to England to lay before Queen Anne the necessity for more active measures against the French. They were received with every attention, presented at court with great solemnity, furnished material for a paper in the *Spectator*, and their presence in the kingdom formed the nine days' wonder of the time.

On the 31st of March, 1713, the treaty of Utrecht put an end to the war which had so long desolated Europe, and which had been so fiercely contested in the wilds of central and northern New York. By the terms of this treaty the dispute regarding the status of the Five Nations was settled, for they were distinctly recognized as "subject to the dominion of Great Britain." Nothing could be more emphatic and conclusive than this recognition, inserted in a solemn treaty and following a contest of many years, in which the specific question had been distinctly raised.

There is no space in the limits of this paper to even glance at the contests between the French and the English in the forty years which elapsed from the treaty of Utrecht to the opening of what we know as the great French and Indian war. It is sufficient to say that while the French were daily encroaching on the territory of the Six Nations, Great Britain never for a moment abandoned the claim that they were her subjects, and that she had a protectorate over all their territory inherited or won by conquest. In 1749 the Ohio Company was organized, and obtained directly from the crown a grant of five hundred thousand acres west of the Alleghany Mountains. The attempt to settle this tract brought on the conflict which for years had been impending. The first blood was shed in 1754, but war was not actually declared until two years later. In Europe the respective contestants passed the intervening period in the interchange of formal charges and countercharges, and the dissemination of documents explaining to the other European powers the grounds of their adverse claims. The official papers issued by the British Cabinet at this time prove beyond all question the nature of England's title to the Ohio country, and yet, so far as I know, they have been substantially ignored by our historians. This is the less excusable because a copy of the leading French memorial, containing translations of the English documents, was captured on a French prize, and published by Hugh Gainé and others in 1757.

The French asserted that the Appalachian Mountains had always been regarded as the western bounds of the English colonies. To the land lying beyond those barriers France claimed title by virtue of prior discovery and occupation, and if the question was to be decided on these grounds her right was incontestible. Her voyagers had explored the Ohio and Mississippi, had planted settlements in the disputed territory, and had

connected Canada and Louisiana by a cordon of forts almost before an English foot had trodden on its soil. England saw that upon such a basis of argument as this her claim was utterly untenable. She therefore set up no title by discovery, but fell back on her Indian title, and on that alone.

In 1727 Cadwallader Colden had published in New York the first part of his great work on "The Five Nations." In that volume he gave an account of the early treaties with them. In 1742 he wrote the continuation. The whole was published in London in 1747, and a new edition was issued in 1755. The British Cabinet, therefore, had before it all the Indian treaties and other evidence on which to base the assertion of its rights. On the 7th of June, 1755, the ministry at London issued its final memorial in answer to one from the French court, in which the latter's claim was set forth as based on prior undisputed possession. After discussing the Treaty of Utrecht, and showing that in the face of such a solemn admission France could not dispute the fact that the Five Nations were subjects of Great Britain, it sums up England's claim to the Ohio territory in these words: "What the Court of Great Britain asserts and insists upon is this, that the Iroquois Nations, acknowledged by France to be the subjects of Britain, are either originally or by conquest the lawful proprietors of the Territory of Ohio in question." *

But there is something in addition to this memorial equally striking in its character. The British government had caused extensive surveys to be made, and at a large expense had prepared an elaborate map of North America. This was drawn by John Mitchell under the direction of Pownall, the well-known secretary of the Board of Trade. It bears date February 13, 1755, is official in its imprint, and was doubtless intended to accompany the memorial which was sent to the various courts of Europe. On this map the conquests of the Six Nations, extending from the Carolinas on the south and the Illinois on the west to far above the Great Lakes as the upper limit, are laid down with great distinctness, while elaborate foot notes give the dates of the treaties by which this territory had been placed under the protectorate of Great Britain.

Two editions of this map appear to have been printed, one at London, the other, with additions, at Amsterdam. The late Governor Seymour had one of this latter edition, and the author is indebted to that gentleman for first calling his attention to its importance. This map, commonly known as Mitchell's map, which is so strong a piece of evidence of New York's claim to the North-western Territory, was with great propriety the

* *French Memorial*, Gaine's Edition, p. 187. See also Private Instructions to De Vaudreuil, April 1, 1755, in *N. Y. Colonial Documents*, p. 293, etc.

one used in settling the boundaries between Great Britain and the United States in 1783. The New York Historical Society has the copy used by John Jay on that occasion, and the Geographical Society owns the copy of John Adams. Such was the claim of Great Britain upon which she went to war with France. It is difficult to see how Virginia, Massachusetts, or Connecticut could find anything in such a title to support their pretensions to the North-western territory.

Now let us see what relations New York bore to the Six Nations and their country. The confederates lived in this province, and nothing is better settled in our colonial history than the fact that they were regarded as under the special jurisdiction and superintendence of New York. If the governors of the other colonies desired to treat with them, the negotiations were carried on through her officials. If they were to be incited to war or cajoled into peace, it was the New York authorities that were relied on to effect the desired object. Virginia in particular fully acknowledged this relation. Among other proofs of this is the fact that in 1722, her assembly passed an act, recognizing in the most formal manner the Appalachian Mountains as the boundary line between her Indians and those subject to New York. The preamble of this act referred to a treaty about to be made with the Five Nations at Albany, and it then provided that after the ratification of such treaty none of the Indians tributary to Virginia should go north of the Potomac River, or west of the Appalachian Mountains without a passport from the governor of Virginia, under penalty of death or transportation; and that none of the Five Nations should cross the Potomac or go east of the Appalachian Mountains without a passport from the governor of New York, under pain of similar penalties. A copy of the act under seal of the colony was delivered to the sachems of the Five Nations at Albany in 1722, and was ratified by them. (*Hening's Statutes of Virginia*, vol. 4, page 103.) This is but a single specimen of the transactions by which Virginia all through her colonial days recognized the Appalachian Mountains as her western boundary, and acknowledged the Five Nations who owned the farther country as appendant to New York. As for Massachusetts and Connecticut they never for a moment suggested a claim to this western territory until after the outbreak of our Revolution.

The duties imposed upon New York by her relations to these tribes formed by far the heaviest of her colonial burdens. For more than a century she contributed most of the money which was lavished upon the confederates. It is difficult now to compute the exact amount which she thus expended, but the aggregate was enormous. For example, in six

years, between 1690 and 1696, with a population of only twenty thousand souls, she spent thirty thousand pounds in her Indian wars. The other colonies were called upon by the English authorities to bear their share of this expense, and they contributed towards the total exactly three thousand pounds. Thus matters continued for more than seventy years. Great Britain unceasingly directed the other colonies to share with New York the expense of the Indian alliance which so greatly benefited all, but they uniformly evaded the demand on the ground that it was no concern of theirs. As time went on these sums swelled to vast proportions. In the first five years of the war which finally drove the French from Canada, New York expended over three hundred and forty thousand pounds. (2 *Chalmer's Introduction*, 322.)

But great as were the financial sacrifices, these formed but a fraction of her contributions. For nearly a century her outlying settlements were exposed to French incursions. Every one of her border colonists became a soldier, and they preserved the rights of the confederates with their blood, as well as with their treasure. Of all the other colonies, Massachusetts and Connecticut alone furnished anything like their fair quota of men in the long continued conflicts. The great war began over the adverse claims to the Ohio country. Virginia at that time had a population almost twice as large as that of the whole of Canada. If she had owned the territory in dispute it would at least have been natural for her to make some efforts for its protection. In 1754, she raised six hundred men for Washington's expedition, but "he found an obstruction in every fence and an opponent in every planter." (2 *Chalmer's Introduction*, 268.) After Braddock's defeat, her assembly authorized the governor to raise one thousand men for frontier purposes, but they were never raised, as the colonists would not enlist. (2 *Chalmer's Introduction*, 352.)

A little later intelligence was brought to Winchester, that the Indians were ravaging the country west of the town, and the militia were called out to drive them off. Washington could not procure twenty-five men for the service, and the people threatened to blow out his brains for the activity which he displayed on that occasion. (*Irvings Washington*, I, 214, 215.) In the next year he called out all the militia for a similar purpose, and fifteen obeyed the summons. And still again, when he ordered out three companies to the relief of a fort attacked by the Indians, he secured the presence of one captain, one lieutenant, and seven or eight privates. (*Idem*, 234-246.) In 1758, a number of Virginians enlisted in the army under General Forbes, which captured Fort DuQuesne. The garrison of the fort, five hundred in number, fled before the approaching expedition,

and the place was taken without a blow. This, it is believed, sums up Virginia's record in the war which established the English title to this territory.

Meantime we find New York and New England maintaining year after year an army of twenty thousand men, to which New York always contributed her quota.

In the Indian rebellion which broke out in 1763, the record of Virginia is but little different. Her hunters rendered valuable aid as scouts, and she raised a thousand militia for home service; but aside from this the colony did next to nothing. Colonel Bouquet, for his famous expedition into the Ohio country, enlisted two companies of Virginian volunteers, but the assembly refused to pay them, and they tried to hold the commander personally liable. The generosity of Pennsylvania alone relieved him from this embarrassment. The success of the English in quieting the outbreak was due mainly to the services of Sir William Johnson of New York, who kept all of the Six Nations, except the Senecas, true to their alliance, and in fact turned their arms against the insurgents.*

From these facts it can be judged whether Virginia at that time considered that she had a title to the North-western Territory. Had she entertained such an idea, her brave soldiers would have flocked in overwhelming numbers to its defense.

Now, in the face of this evidence, all of which was doubtless before the Congressional committee of 1781, what standing had Virginia, Massachusetts or Connecticut as claimants of the Ohio country? Virginia's charter of 1609 had been formally annulled. Besides this it was so uncertain in its description as to be void for that reason alone, while by no rule of legal construction could this description, even if valid, embrace the Ohio country. But beyond all this stands out the dominating fact that when this charter was granted England did not own the region in dispute, and only gained it afterwards by a title derived through the Province of New York. Massachusetts and Connecticut of course stood in no better position. The former claimed to the Pacific by virtue of her charter of 1629, but this had been annulled in 1684, and she had accepted another in 1691, which carried her western limits only as far as "Rhode Island, Connecticut and the Narragansett country," whatever that may mean. Connecticut claimed under the New England grant of 1620, but in 1664 Charles the Second had conveyed to his brother, the Duke of York, all the territory west of the Connecticut River, and subsequently the boundary line between the two colonies had been settled by the most formal agreement. In addition,

* *Parkman's Conspiracy of Pontiac*, vol. 2, pp. 241, 29, 72.

the last argument applicable to the claim of Virginia also disposed of the pretensions of these other states, although as they had paid something toward the expenses of the Indian wars, and always did more than their share of the fighting, they had an equitable claim which Virginia never possessed.

The answer of the committee specially appointed by Congress to investigate these questions is contained in the unanimous report to which allusion has been already made. This report sets out with the statement that the committee had been attended by the agents on the part of New York, Connecticut and Virginia, that the representatives of New York and Connecticut had laid before them their several claims with vouchers to support the same, but that Virginia had declined any elucidation of her pretensions. That they had carefully examined all the vouchers submitted to them, and had obtained all the information as to the state of the disputed lands, and that they were of opinion that Congress should accept the cession from New York. In support of this conclusion they say: "The reasons that induced your committee to recommend the acceptance of this cession are, 1st. It clearly appeared to your committee that all the lands belonging to the Six Nations of Indians and their tributaries have been in due form put under the protection of the Crown of England by the said Six Nations, as appendant to the late government of New York, so far as respects jurisdiction only.

2d. That the citizens of the said Colony of New York have borne the burthen both as to blood and treasure of protecting and supporting the said Six Nations of Indians and their tributaries for upwards of one hundred years last past as the dependants and allies of the said government.

3d. That the Crown of England has always considered and treated the country of the said Six Nations and their tributaries inhabiting as far as the forty-fifth degree of north latitude as appendant to the government of New York.

4th. That the neighboring colonies of Massachusetts, Connecticut, Pennsylvania, Maryland and Virginia have also from time to time, by their public acts recognized and admitted the said Six Nations and their tributaries to be appendant to the government of New York.

5th. That by Congress accepting this cession the jurisdiction of the whole western territory belonging to the Six Nations and their tributaries will be vested in the United States, greatly to the advantage of the union."

They then recommend that Massachusetts and Connecticut should "release" to the United States all their claims and pretensions of claim to the said western territory, without condition or restriction, and con-

clude with the opinion that Congress should not accept the cession from Virginia, nor guarantee the tract of land claimed by her. In support of this conclusion, they state among other reasons that all the land which Virginia proposes to cede belonged to the Six Nations or their tributaries. That a great part of the land which she proposed to retain was also within the claim of the State of New York as the country of the same tribes, and was beyond the western boundary of Virginia as established by the king of Great Britain in council, previous to the Revolution.*

In accordance with these recommendations, as we have already seen, the cession from New York was accepted by Congress on the 29th of October, 1782, and about a year later the proposed deed from Virginia was formally rejected.

How well this report is sustained by the facts is shown in the preceding pages; its conclusions of law are likewise unassailable. By the Revolution, which severed the connection between the colonies and the mother country, each state succeeded to the title of Great Britain to all public or crown property within its limits. The confederation was simply a league owning nothing and succeeding to no rights. It was the individual state which took to itself the quitrents of the crown, with all the other crown property, such as forts, court-houses, and the unsold or unappropriated lands. In the same way New York succeeded to Great Britain's jurisdiction over the Six Nations and their tributaries, and thereby secured the exclusive privilege of buying or conquering their land, a right, which as to the Indians residing in the other states was never questioned. Her title to the soil was not absolute, for it was subject to the occupation of the natives, but it was the only one claimed at that time by the European powers to any land on this continent, and under it the Indian lands in the West are held by the United States to-day.

Before closing this article it may be well to notice a claim sometimes advanced, although it is one which hardly deserves serious consideration. It is occasionally said that Virginia owned the North-western Territory, because she obtained it by conquest. The facts thus referred to are briefly these. During the Revolution the Indians in the North-west became very troublesome, and Colonel George Rogers Clarke, in 1778, with the approval of Governor Patrick Henry, led a body of one hundred and fifty volunteers into the Illinois country. The expedition was a brilliant and very successful one. The British governor was captured, and the Indians so won over or terrorized that they gave little further trouble. It is claimed that as this was a Virginian expedition, originated and paid for by that state, its

* 4th *Journal Old Congress*, 21.

victory gave a title to the disputed lands. It is difficult to discuss such a proposition with sobriety. Upon the same theory, if the British had been driven out of Virginia by New York troops, the soil of that state would have belonged to New York, or if they had been dislodged from Manhattan Island by men from Massachusetts that act would have transferred the title. Assuming that the North-western Territory belonged to New York, Virginia could have gained no interest in it by sending out a private force for its subjection, even if she had been doing her full duty in other quarters. The fact is, however, that while New York and the New England states furnished more than their full share of troops for the general service, Virginia, like her sisters in the South, was greatly in arrears, and in the end provided only about half her quota. Thus New York was fighting the battles of Virginia, while that state was taking possession of her territory. The proposition is its own refutation.

Douglas Campbell

LEIF ERIKSON

In view of the interest recently aroused in the question of the discovery of America by the Northmen by the unveiling of the Leif Erikson statue in Boston, the general reader may be interested to know what authorities were consulted to substantiate the claim of discovery which has been inscribed on the pedestal of the statue. The subscribers finding themselves fortunately in the possession of a work worthy to commemorate an historic event were naturally confronted with the following questions: Are the Northern historians and antiquarians conservative and trustworthy? Does the story rest "on narratives, mythological in form and obscure in meaning, ancient, yet not contemporary" (Bancroft), or are the historical sagas authentic documents founded upon fact and affirmed by the best historians? Writers whose judgment is authoritative answer the first of these queries in the affirmative.

The second may be included for reply with a statement recently accepted by the Massachusetts Historical Society, the secretary's report of which reads in part as follows:

"Professor Haynes, in behalf of the committee appointed to consider the question of the alleged early discovery of America by the Norsemen, reviewed the various sources of information bearing upon the subject, and in conclusion expressed the opinion that there is the same sort of reason for believing in the existence of Leif Erikson that there is for believing in the existence of Agamemnon. They are both traditions accepted by later writers, and there is no more reason for regarding as true the details related about the discoveries of the former, than there is for accepting as historic truth the narrative contained in the Homeric poems. Not only is it antecedently probable that the Norsemen discovered America in the early part of the eleventh century, but this is confirmed by the same sort of proof upon which our belief in many of the facts of history rests. The date of 1000 A.D., assumed for such discovery, is sufficiently near for all practical purposes, and is much nearer the truth than the traditional date given for the foundation of Rome. It was voted that this report be accepted and incorporated in the records of the society."

Professor J. D. Whitney, of Harvard College, in a course of lectures on geography, now in progress, having fully treated of the discovery of the American Continent by the Northmen, kindly permits the use of the ab-

stract of his lecture of December 17 last, the substance of which is given below. It was an answer to the above report of the Massachusetts Historical Society, noticed by Professor Whitney, which was absolutely contradictory to his own statements made in previous lectures, wherein the Icelandic discovery had been treated as established history. Having cited Grote and other authorities, concluding with Schlieman, Professor Whitney showed that Agamemnon was a mythical or semi-mythical personage, and to the question, Was there any Trojan war, or is the whole story a legendary collection of fictions? gave Grote's answer: "The possibility of it cannot be denied, neither can the reality of it be affirmed." The various statements or legends as to the time of the birth of Homer, which vary by four hundred and sixty years, and the theories in regard to the composition of the Iliad, which are in the highest degree conflicting, were also recalled. As to the Northmen Professor Whitney concludes as follows: "The written records of the discoveries of Bjarni, Leif, Thorfinn and others are clear, circumstantial, not in conflict with each other, in accordance with the perfectly well-known character of the Northmen, absolutely free from any mythical legends. The dates are given of each event, and these dates are in harmony with each other, entirely consistent and supported by independent evidence (Rafn). The evidence has been accepted in full by all the eminent geographical critics of later days. Among the names of those thus accepting and fully indorsing the validity of the discoveries, I will mention Humboldt, Major, Peschel and Kohl, all geographical critics of the first rank."

The established facts concerning these discoveries given us by qualified writers are these: The discovery of Greenland and the emigration there of Erik the Red in A.D. 985-986; the sighting land by Bjarni in A.D. 990; the carrying of Christianity to Greenland and the discovery of Vinland by Leif, in A.D. 999-1000. The men who made these voyages are known historically outside their Vinland exploits.

The references in the Icelandic records show that voyages to Vinland from Scandinavia, Iceland and Greenland were made for three hundred years and more after the discovery. The extinction of the Greenland colony, which was caused, it is supposed, by famine, the plague and the breach of communication with the mainland, perhaps, also, by the assaults of the Eskimos, occurred about the year 1400. Hans Egede, a Norse missionary, with his wife and children, went in 1721 to Greenland. He desired to resume the work of the seventeen bishops of Greenland, broken off, as he knew, late in the fourteenth century. By his disinterested devotion and reports to the home countries of his work and explorations, he brought to

the forlorn natives, not the comfort of religious instruction alone, but communication with the outside world as well. Erik Upse was the first of the resident bishops in Greenland in 1112, and it is recorded that he went to Vinland in 1121. Bishop Upse is the first also on the list of the bishops in this country whose lives are recorded by the Roman Catholic Church.* Since the time of Arne Magnussen, the great collector of vellums, and his friend and countryman, Torfæus the Icelandic historian, who has the reputation of first bringing the documents of the Vinland discovery to the knowledge of European scholars (*Vinlandia* and *Gronlandia*, 1705), a succession of eminent antiquaries, historians, and philologists have made the old Icelandic literature and history a common possession. The writings on the Northmen and their discovery of Vinland, of Laing, Beamish, Henry Wheaton, Paul Riant and many others, all of whom affirm the authenticity of the sagas, and their necessary acceptance, are based upon the researches of Bishop Müller, Rask, Finn Magnusson, Geijer, Bergmann, Matthias Petersen, Bugge, Grundtvig, Helveg, Keyser, Rafn and other eminent scholars.

The worthy successor of the illustrious Alexander Von Humboldt, as Mr. Charles Deane in a tribute to Dr. J. G. Kohl of Bremen, calls that distinguished geographer, reaffirms Humboldt's statement (*Cosmos*, Vol. II.) of the discovery A.D. 1000.† When Professor Willard Fiske, the first American Icelandic scholar, was consulted as to authorities, he answered: "The best books on the subject seem to me to be still the *Gronlandia* and *Vinlandia* of Torfæus, the learned Iclander of the beginning of the last century, because they are free from hypotheses, and confine themselves to the bringing together of the saga narratives. . . . The studies of Vigfusson, of Oxford, and Maurer, of Munich, enable them to give the most authoritative opinions on this subject," etc.

Turning to Vigfusson's works one learns that the latest scholarship conducted upon the modern scientific methods by such scholars as Munch, Unger, Sigurdsson, and Konrad Maurer (the greatest living authority on Icelandic law) still gives in the main incidents of the saga story and the dates of the discovery of Greenland and the American continent as established history. There are works enough of Munch, Maurer and Vigfusson in our libraries to give the student this assurance. The conclusions gath-

* P. A. Munch's *History of Norway*, Vol. III., p. 618, and Konrad Maurer's *Grönland im Mittelalter*.

† See Kohl's *Discovery of North America* for charts of the Northmen, p. 107. Also pp. 115-119, for the possible benefit to Columbus if he read Adam of Bremen and thus learned of Vinland, or acquired a knowledge of the Norse Icelandic voyages at the time of his visit to Iceland in 1477.

ered from various works of Vigfusson, whose very conservative opinions have double value based as they are upon his full knowledge of the work of his predecessors and collaborators and his own most exact research, will be given in his own and as few words as possible. He says: "What we hold is that the sagas are to be looked upon as epics, founded on fact, not as exact histories." He furthermore tells us that one can depend upon the received chronology of Norway after A. D. 976, the year of the great famine, and of Iceland after 960 as given by Ari. Ari himself (1067-1148) is called "the chief of Teutonic historians, the ever-enquiring, sagacious writer whose skilled and careful hand has given us the story of the settlement of Iceland (*Landnama*) the account of the christening of the new commonwealth, the sketch of its constitution and a series of *Lives of the Kings* of the mother country—Norway. Besides his advantages of time and the skill to use them, Ari appears to have had the rarer gift of perfect tolerance and impartiality, so that one may rely implicitly on him as one who always draws on the best information to be had, and whose only aim is truth." And again, "Ari's sagacity, his careful and orderly method and plain straight forward, but pure and dignified style, enhance the value of the immense amount of information which he carefully gathered from the best sources, the relative worth of which he gauges minutely. Neither was he a mere antiquarian—on the contrary his view of history is both poetical and scientific, and differs in many respects from the narrow and distorted vision of the ordinary medieval writers with whom indeed he has nothing in common. His peerless book—*Landnama*—contains some 2,000 names of places and 4,000 names of persons."

Of Snorri Sturlason (1178-1241) we are told that, "In comparison with his contemporaries, Snorri's broader views and keen statesmanlike tact are certainly remarkable; and every page of his works attests his sympathy with the political life and his possession of the peculiar qualities necessary for a ruler of men. Able to value at its real worth the careful truth-seeking of Ari, he yet takes his own path as an historian; seizing on character and situation with the truest dramatic feeling, letting his heroes speak for themselves; working boldly and vigorously, but with the surest skill; and so creating works which for deep political insight, truth of conception, vividness of color and knowledge of mankind, must ever retain their place beside the master-pieces of the greatest historians. . . . Between Ari and Snorri there is this difference; Ari is a master of *facts* and his truthful research has laid the foundations of history: Snorri is a political historian, a man of the world, a poet and an artist."*

* Wheaton, Laing, and others pay tributes of the same nature to Ari and Snorri.

Vigfusson enhances the value of the *King's Lives* by proving that Ari is the authority for the data of that work based upon *contemporary documents*, and that Snorri Sturlason re-edited the work, "putting into dramatic form with great beauty, pathos and humor those stories which have made the *Heimskringla* so justly famous."

It is always to be borne in mind that it was the godars, governors, and bishops of Iceland, men who participated in the political and social life of the people, who were the writers of sagas and preserved in the records the principal events, the genealogies and properties of prominent families from the time of Ari to Snorri, and late into the fourteenth century. The greater number of the sagas have come down in fourteenth century MSS. such as the Sturlunga, the Flatey and Hauk's books. The period of the writing of the sagas is assigned by Müller (*saga bibliothek*) as early as the eleventh century. Vigfusson places it about 1140 to 1220 "a time of peace, a period in which neither foreign influence nor party violence were all absorbing, the impulse having been first given by Ari and his school. . . . While the creative instinct was still at work in the time of the commonwealth we may fancy the written literature as circulating in pamphlet form small sized vellum—books roughly copied like the quartos of the early English playwrights—such as the Libellus gives an example of. But all these have perished and it is from the collection of the following centuries, fine large books well written on parchment, that the texts are derived. A debt of gratitude is due to the men who did this work; if they could not write themselves they at least took care of the works of those who could; they gave faithful copies and good clean texts, so that though their Scholia would be desirable, there is reason to be content with their honest work."

"The saga of Erik the Red (the Vinland story) presents the unique phenomenon of two entirely different recensions which, though corresponding on the whole, are both separately derived from oral tradition. The correspondence of these distinct versions throws great light on the vitality and the faithfulness of tradition and is a strong confirmation of the credibility in main points of a saga which is especially important for historic reasons." The two versions are believed to have originated in the north and west of Iceland respectively. The saga of Thorfinn Karlsefne was probably first recorded in Iceland by his grandson, Bishop Thorlak (1085–1133). The northern version is that copied into the Flatey-book (edited by Vigfusson and Unger, Christianian, 3 vols., 1868); the western is found in two MSS., the Hauk's book and No. 557 of the Arne Magnussen collection. The version familiar to American readers was taken as given by Rafn in *Antiquitates Americanae* from *Hauk's Book* (Hauk died in 1334),

and is called "longwinded and confused compared to No. 557, which is of higher literary worth because it has preserved a certain charm of style and beauty of diction."

Mr. Stephney's translation is recommended to English readers. Having learned that the chronology, as noted above, can be depended upon from the year 976 for Norway, and 960 for Iceland, as given by Ari, it is always very important for students not familiar with northern writers to remember that the sagas have the "firm ground of the *Landnama* book as a basis, for it is often cited (though not by name) in the sagas, being the ground work or matrix to them as well; in style and character it lies behind all other Icelandic literature."*

The authorities cited will make it clear to unprejudiced readers and students that the subscribers to the Leif Erikson statue were fully authorized to inscribe the Norse-Icelandic discovery of the American continent and the date of the same on the pedestal of Miss Whitney's statue, which Mr. James Russell Lowell has happily described as: "A work both nobly conceived and admirably executed, a fine design adequately carried out, sufficiently true in detail without harm to its ideal character—in short, just what such a statue should be."

A quotation from George Webbe Dasent's Introduction to the *Icelandic Dictionary* admirably shows the sagas to be worthy of the consideration and study now made possible to all students by the great work of Vigfusson, a monument not only to his learning but to the intelligent co-operation of English scholars as well. Mr. Dasent writes: "Although these sagas are filled with the might and glory of kings and jarls, they are thickly sown with the brave deeds and outspoken utterances of sturdy freemen and of those allodial owners of land which belonged to them in their own right, who did not scruple, if the king wronged them, to resist him and even to defy him to the death." And again: "From whatever point of view, therefore, we consider the relations which exist between England and Iceland, whether from that of primeval affinity and a community of race, religion, and law, or from that of connection by commerce, immigration, or conquest, we shall find the two languages and peoples so closely bound together, that whatsoever throws light on the beliefs, institutions, and customs of the one, must necessarily illustrate and explain those of the other. Nor should it be forgotten that in the tenth and eleventh centuries the Icelanders were foremost in the history of the time. They were at once the most learned and the boldest and most adventurous

* Vigfusson's *Prolegomena to Sturlunga Saga*, 1877, and Vigfusson's and Powell's *Corpus Poeticum Boreale* (1883).

of men. From Iceland they pushed on to Greenland and America, and their ships swarmed in commerce or in Viking voyages on all the seas. At the courts of kings and earls, whether Norwegian, Danish, Swedish, or Anglo-Saxon, they were welcome guests, for though none were more dreaded as foes, none were more warmly greeted as friends for their gifts of wit and song."

With these eloquent but well considered words the Icelandic literature and history may safely be left to the consideration of the student.

Sara C. Bull.

ELMWOOD, CAMBRIDGE, December 26, 1887.

A word of acknowledgment is due to individual members of the Massachusetts Historical Society for the kindly interest and encouragement, also to Baron Nordenskjöld for information in agreement with the authorities quoted.

It was decided in 1876 that the statue of Leif Erikson should be placed in Boston, and among those now deceased who were the first to give their aid and good wishes were Longfellow, Thomas G. Appleton, Maria Weston Chapman, and Henry P. Kidder.

Among the living may be mentioned the poet, Björnson, the composer, Grieg, and our present minister to Denmark, Prof. R. B. Anderson, all of whom cordially assisted Ole Bull in 1873. It is a satisfaction to note that Milwaukee now has a replica of Miss Whitney's work, thanks to the generosity of a lady resident. It was in Wisconsin, among the Scandinavians, that the movement was first started.

Miss Whitney's model of her statue was greatly admired by Ole Bull, who pronounced it Norse in character and feeling. It would be ungracious to refrain from a grateful acknowledgment in this connection of many messages of remembrance from subscribers to the violinists' initiative share in the undertaking, among which are those of Mr. Whittier, Mr. Lowell, Mr. Edwin Booth, Dr. Bartol, Dr. E. E. Hale, Prof. Horsford, and cables and letters from Norway: Among the latter a kind message from King Oscar of Norway and Sweden.

The unveiling took place on the 29th day of October, 1887. Dr. Edward Everett Hale presided, and Professor Horsford's eloquent address gave the historical outline a living form. Leaving Faneuil Hall, the procession marched to the statue and met there the governor of the state, the mayor of the city and invited guests. The statue was presented to the city by Mr. Oliver Peabody, and accepted by the mayor and governor. "By the pomp and ceremony of a public demonstration," said the Boston *Herald*, "Boston committed herself gladly and irrevocably to a truth which the conservatism of tradition, rather than the blindness of prejudice, had done much to conceal."

Messages and cables, one sent by Mr. E. Vedel, the eminent archæologist, from the Antiquarian Society of Copenhagen, giving "the best thanks of the society for the manner in which the citizens of the United States have honored the deeds and energy of the old Scandinavians," and from the mayors of the cities of Bergen and Staranger, Norway, evidencing the general interest of the home countries in the event. The children also of C. C. Rafn, sent their greetings and recalled the aid and recognition received by their eminent father from American scholars, accompanied by a letter of congratulation from the American minister at Copenhagen.

S. O. B.

CENTRAL OHIO SEVENTY YEARS AGO

ADVENTURES OF JOHN A. QUITMAN

In the autumn of 1819 John Anthony Quitman, then a young man of twenty-one, whose subsequent career made him famous, crossed the Alleghany Mountains on foot, and arrived on the 2d of November at Pittsburgh. Here he took passage on a "keel-boat" down the Ohio, Mrs. Griffith—daughter of Elias Boudinot, the first president of Princeton College—her daughter, and other ladies, being among his fellow-passengers. "The accommodations were very rough," wrote Quitman, in his diary, "but the ladies made it agreeable. Miss Griffith played on the flageolet and I on the flute. I felt like poor Goldsmith when, wandering over Europe, he fluted for his supper. Our fowling-pieces supplied us with game; biscuit and jerked venison were our standbys. At Wheeling Mrs. and Miss Griffith, charmed with our mess table, became our boarders. We laid in some tea and loaf sugar for them, and, to provide more game, we purchased a small canoe, here called a 'dug-out,' or 'man-drowner.'"

There is something very fascinating in this picture of primitive travel down the beautiful Ohio. How the little party must have reveled in the glorious scenery of the noble river, as they drifted leisurely along with its bright current, threading mazily amongst wild and silent bluffs, all robed in the gorgeous livery of autumn! What a contrast to the rattle and jostle of the lightning-express-train travel of to-day!

On the 19th of November the party landed at Portsmouth, Ohio, and thence Quitman set out on horseback for Chillicothe. "Deer were so numerous on the way," he says, "that I shot one with my pistol near Piketon, and with it paid for my lodging and entertainment. On the 22d, at 4 P. M.," he continues, "I dismounted at an inn in Chillicothe, and sung out to the astonished hostler: '*Hic labor extremis, hic meta longarum viarum.*'"

Young Quitman was a native of Rhinebeck, New York, born September 1, 1798. His father was the Rev. Dr. Frederick Henry Quitman, a Lutheran clergyman, the son of an officer in the Prussian army, and his birthplace was one of the small islands of the Rhine. Dr. Quitman was educated at the University of Halle, Saxony, and was subsequently dispatched by the Lutheran Consistorium at Amsterdam as a missionary to the island of

Curacoa, from whence, after a twelve years' residence, he emigrated to this country, settling, finally, at Rhinebeck. His son, John Anthony, was educated for the pulpit, but soon developed a strong inclination for a different profession, and finally began the study of law. About the same time he became adjunct professor of the English language at Mount Airey College, Germantown, Pennsylvania, a position to which he had been promoted from that of tutor in the Hartwick Academy, in Otsego County, New York. He chanced to meet and become acquainted with the Hon. Platt Brush, a member of Congress from Chillicothe, Ohio, who advised him to emigrate to that state, and offered him a position as private teacher in his family, together with the privilege of studying law in his office. This proposition was what drew the young adventurer into that then remote country. He was cordially received by Colonel Brush, who gave him a home and instruction in the law, in consideration of reciprocal tuitionary services. The manner in which he occupied himself in his new sphere is thus stated in a letter to his brother:

"I rise early and go to bed late; the greater part of my time is spent in close application to law books. Sometimes I indulge in a walk before sunrise on the banks of the Scioto, and think of the friends I have left on the Hudson, and the many girls I have loved. Sometimes with my gun I ramble through the primitive forests that flank the town on the northwest. I visit the ancient tumuli that abound here, and, 'fancy free,' meditate on the mysterious past. Occasionally—not as often as I wish, and as a luxury almost too great for a poor student—I spend an evening with the belles of Chillicothe. They are social and agreeable."

The following betrays some of the misgivings natural to a young barrister: "When I compare myself with some others here I think I can become a good lawyer, at least, if not an advocate. Should I fail I will find something else to do. Nature has endowed me with some physical force to supply the deficiency of mental power. I think I would make a good soldier, or a fur trader in the Rocky Mountains. If I cannot trap *clients*, I know, from experience, that I have genius for trapping *muskrats*."

As to his future plans we have the following intimation: "I have a serious notion of going to Natchez after I shall have finished my studies, unless I meet with good luck here, such as a partnership with my boss, or some other respectable lawyer."

As to the cost of living in Southern Ohio in those days, we have the following information: "Wheat brings here only $37\frac{1}{2}$ cents per bushel, corn 20 to 25 cents, and other produce is cheap in proportion. In the villages board and lodgings may be had for \$1.00 to \$1.50 per day."

In a letter to his brother, dated June 24, 1820, he writes: "A brother of Colonel Brush has received the appointment of United States Register for the sale of public lands at Delaware, seventy miles north of this—a new district, extending up to Lake Erie. He offers me a clerkship, and ample time to continue my professional reading. I will go. I must get away from the fascinating charms of female society. My natural inclinations waft me too near the rocks of the sirens."

The following glimpse of social life in Chillicothe at that period is given in a letter to his sister of nearly the same date as the above: "I shall leave Chillicothe on the 15th of next month, and during the interval will seek the enjoyment of society here. The fashionable circle consists of about twenty families. As much etiquette prevails as I observed in Philadelphia, and the same hours for calls and receptions. The ladies are gay, dressy, sociable, and well informed. There is quite a circle of distinguished gentlemen, with whom Mr. Ashe, the Englishman, in his recent book of travels, says he dined; but they all agree that they never knew Mr. Ashe." Quitman adds: "Speaking of facetious travelers, I must not omit to say that the famous Captain Riley, of Arab captivity and shipwrecked celebrity, resides here, and continues to relate some wonderful exploits."

His next letter to his brother is dated at Delaware, Ohio, August 16, 1820, and runs thus: "This village is on the very edge of the white population, in the district purchased from the Indians, a few years since. This purchase embraces about eight thousand square miles. It has been divided into two land districts, of one of which (the eastern) Mr. Brush is register. It extends fifty miles on the base line, and thus up to Michigan and Lake Erie, including Sandusky River, and a great part of the Miami of the lakes. This vast tract will be offered for sale in eighty-acre tracts, to the highest bidder, and if not sold may be entered at \$1.25 per acre. The lands are of the finest quality, the greater part of them plains, with here and there copses of trees in them, like islands in the ocean. Corn, wheat and grass attain a luxuriance almost fabulous to relate. These noble plains often sweep beyond the range of the eye; here a long tongue or peninsula of timber projecting into them in graceful curves, there clumps of trees clustered together, or standing at graceful intervals, without underwood, as though planted and nurtured by the hand of art. The timber consists chiefly of oak, hickory, and black walnut."

In a letter written from Delaware, September 18, 1820, he says: "I will stake everything on the rapid progress of this region. Fort Croghan is the place from which the scintillations of my genius shall at some future

day dazzle the aborigines of Ohio. Your moneyed men in Philadelphia would make the best speculation in the world by purchasing lands here. This village has now about fifty well-built houses. In the vicinity is a mineral spring (called a 'lick') where, not many years ago, thousands of buffaloes resorted. The woods now abound with deer, wolves and turkeys, the streams with geese and ducks."

And this is the way he astonished the original natives of Delaware: "I am not yet licensed, but I have made several speeches in court in criminal cases, and gained some reputation. They think me a clever fellow and a good Republican, because I turn out to musters and wear a straw hat cocked up behind. I write a little, too, for the Delaware *Gazette*, and thus my time passes."

With a sentimental remembrance, perhaps of the lovely Chillicothe belles he had left behind him, he adds: "I left Chillicothe with great regret, nor did I know my attachment for it until I was about to leave it. The hospitality and kindness I received there will ever be gratefully remembered."

The following observation is contained in a subsequent letter: "The climate of this country is very unsteady. Two days ago we had warm, smoky weather; now the ground is covered with snow."

In a letter of December 10, 1820, he gives this charming picture of primitive Northern Ohio: "I have just returned from Portland, on Sandusky Bay, one hundred miles from this place [Delaware]. I have now traversed the whole length of the State from north to south, and for the quality of the soil, the size of the timber, the luxuriance of vegetation, in short for every feature that constitutes a rich farming country, it is not to be surpassed. As I rode over the undulating plains, the stands of timber, the trooping deer, the prairie-fowl, the wild-flowers that gemmed the path, the serene and cloudless sky, made an enchanting scene. The trees stood so artistically—here and there the curling smoke of the Indian hunter wreathing around their heads—that I almost looked for the mansion they were intended to adorn."

But wild as the country was, comparatively, the settlers were not destitute of many of the amusements and social amenities enjoyed in older communities, as witness: "This [Delaware] is not so insignificant a village as you fancy it is. We have a singing school, a boxing and fencing school, a debating society, and a Masonic lodge, and parties very often. Most of our citizens have been in the army, and know something of the world. The land office brings people here from every quarter, and of every grade." And again: "You dazzle me with your account of the holidays in Phila-

delphia. Ours were more primitive, but we had our balls and our kissing parties. It is now twelve at night. You are perhaps just returning from your stewed terrapins, your chicken salad, your confections and ices; on my table stands a small pyramid of maple sugar, our only luxury, a present from one of our neighboring belles. Your dressy dolls of Chestnut Street, are washing off their rouge, to wake up pale and nervous in the morning, while my Ohio belle sleeps with her roses, and rises with them, blooming and fragrant, on her cheeks."

Quitman had now been in Ohio eighteen months, and, as he says, felt very much inclined, and had indeed at one time decided, to settle permanently in Delaware. But a prevailing scarcity of money, so discouraging to a professional man, and above all a letter which he received about this time, determined him to turn his face to the Sunny South. This letter was written by Mrs. Griffith, his traveling companion on the keel-boat voyage down the Ohio, who, with her family, was then on her way to Natchez, Mississippi, whither she strongly urged young Quitman to come with the intention of fixing there his permanent home. The letter gave a glowing account of life in the South, and of the opportunities there for young men to rise to distinction. The attractions of the Southern climate, too, formed a weighty consideration, and when added to the generous offer of Mrs. Griffith to give the young lawyer, now admitted to the bar, a temporary home in her family, and her aid in securing an introduction to society and business, easily turned the current of his destiny, and fixed his mind upon making Mississippi the theatre of his future career.

Accordingly, on the 5th of November, 1821, he bade adieu to Delaware, nearly the whole population of which assembled, he says, to say to him good-bye. Mounted upon a good horse, a present from Colonel Brush, he sat out for Natchez, accompanied as far as Columbus by Mr. Little, a merchant of Delaware. Amid a storm of sleet and rain he journeyed alone from Columbus to Chillicothe, whence he proceeded to Maysville and Louisville, where he took a steamer for Natchez, arriving there on the 3d of December. He was cordially received by his good friend Mrs. Griffith, began at once the practice of law, and on the 16th of January following wrote to his father: "Why did I not come here instead of stopping in Ohio? Money is as plenty here as it is scarce there. You may have some notion of business here when I inform you that court has been in session twenty-eight days without disposing of the criminal business; there were one hundred and twenty indictments. . . . Natchez is a bustling place. The streets are lined with carriages, drays and wagons. The rush to the river is incessant. Every hour we hear the roar of cannon announcing the

arrival and departure of steamers. Hundreds of arks or flatboats, loaded with the produce of the western states, even from the interior of Pennsylvania, here line the landing for half a mile, often lying five tiers deep. On the 8th I was examined before the Supreme Court, and am now a licensed attorney and counselor of the state of Mississippi. Continue to give me your blessing, dear father, and your son Jack will never disgrace you."

The main object of this sketch, a picture of life in Central Ohio in the early part of this century, has now been accomplished. But it will be interesting to follow rapidly to its end the thread of destiny upon which these scattering events have been strung. Economical and steady, full of energy and ambition, young Quitman was not long in acquiring a good practice and making himself one of the most popular men in the community. His tastes, talents, convictions and temperament were adapted to life in the South, so that he fell in at once with the habits and notions of the people, and became in a very short time a full-fledged Mississippian. In December, 1824, he married Eliza Turner, only daughter of Henry Turner, a native of Virginia, and by this alliance came into possession of a large estate. In politics he became a State Sovereignty Calhoun Democrat, and in 1827 was nominated by his party and elected to the legislature, wherein he at once assumed prominence. In 1830 his name was extensively canvassed to succeed in the United States Senate Hon. Thomas B. Reed, who had just died, but Robert H. Adams was elected. In 1832 he was chosen delegate to the convention to frame a new constitution for the state, and as such distinguished himself by his opposition to an elective judiciary. Shortly afterward he was appointed chancellor of the state, an office which he soon resigned. He was now known as a Nullifier, a school of politics happily yet in the minority in Mississippi, but he was nevertheless chosen to represent his district in the state senate, of which body he was made the presiding officer. Shortly afterward he recruited a company of volunteers, and led them into Texas to assist in the struggle there going on for independence of Mexican rule, and on his return was commissioned a brigadier-general of the state militia.

In the celebrated controversy of 1843 in relation to the repudiation of the state bonds, issued to the amount of fifteen millions for the Union Bank of Mississippi, Quitman was prompt and decided in placing himself with those who advocated payment of the bonds, and against the disgraceful policy which afterward brought such dishonor upon the state.

In 1848 he was again put forward for the United States Senate, William M. Gwin (Duke Gwin), H. S. Foote and ex-Governor A. G. McNutt being his competitors. Quitman was attacked on the ground of

not being a straight party man, and for this and his opposition to the repudiators was defeated, H. S. Foote being the successful candidate.

On the breaking out of the Mexican war Quitman hastened to Washington, tendered his services to President Polk, and was commissioned a brigadier-general. In his diary of his return trip occurs the following passage, illustrative of life's vicissitudes and contrasts: "12th.—At Pittsburgh, thermometer 102° in the shade; a foretaste of Mexico. Twenty-seven years ago I arrived here, a footworn traveler, with a few shillings in my pocket and all my worldly goods in a single trunk. My comrade and myself spent two days in chaffering for a cheap passage in a keel-boat. To-day I can draw on my merchants in New Orleans, New York and Liverpool, and the attentive landlord at the noble hotel where I put up secures for me a stateroom in a splendid steamer. I hope time and fortune have dealt lightly with my friend."

Arriving at Natchez he set out at once for Mexico, joined General Taylor at Camargo, and was assigned to the command of a division. During the battles of Contreras and Churubusco, which speedily followed, Quitman, much against his wishes, was detached with part of his division, and assigned to the duty of protecting San Augustin, then the base of operations. Relieved from this duty after Churubusco, he was selected by General Scott to lead the assault on the heights of Chapultepec. Among the officers of his storming party were General Shields and Lieutenant-Colonel Geary, afterward conspicuous leaders of Union forces in the civil war. Quitman's division, he leading it in person, advanced along the Tacubaya causeway, exposed at every step to a raking fire, dashed across a morass and climbed the steep ascent, one wing driving the enemy from his breastworks and capturing a five-gun battery, the other pushing for the redan and forcing its way into the castle. But the positions captured were exposed to an enfilading fire, and the most difficult work—the storming of the citadel and the Belen batteries—remained to be accomplished. Reorganizing his columns, Quitman seized a rifle, tied his handkerchief to it as a flag, and ordered the assault, himself taking the lead. The column dashed forward and captured the batteries, Quitman with his own hands planting the flag upon the parapet. Without waiting for orders, he now pushed his division forward into the Grand Plaza of the City of Mexico, where, the citadel having meanwhile surrendered and the Mexican army retreated, he received next morning with military honors the Commander-in-Chief.

Quitman's military career raised him to a high pitch of popularity, and in 1849 he was elected governor of Mississippi by ten thousand majority.

Napoleon said bitterly that some men lived just a few years too long, and it had been well for the subject of this sketch had it been himself instead of the sergeant at his side who fell while planting the Palmetto flag on the Chapultepec parapet. Thoroughly saturated with the political philosophy of Calhoun, who was his model in statesmanship, he was one of the first to suggest and most ardent to advocate secession as a remedy for what were called the aggressions of the North. While governor he denounced the admission of California as a free state, and even convened the legislature in extra session to provide means for resisting this so-called invasion of the sovereignty of Mississippi. Before serving out his term as governor he resigned, owing to a prosecution instituted against him by the government of President Fillmore for alleged complicity in the Lopez filibustering invasion of Cuba. The prosecution was dropped, the jury being unable to agree, and Quitman, returning home from New Orleans, where the trial was had, was greeted at Vicksburg with a salute of one hundred guns, a torchlight procession, and various other demonstrations of popular applause. He was again nominated for governor, but a preliminary election of delegates to a state convention resulting in an overwhelming defeat of the States Rights party, Quitman drew out of the canvass, and H. S. Foote, the Union nominee, was elected. In the summer of 1855 Quitman was elected to Congress by the State Sovereignty party on a straight secession and pro-slavery platform, and on taking his seat was appointed chairman of the Committee on Military Affairs. In the National Democratic Convention of 1856 he was proposed as a candidate for the Vice-Presidency, and on the first ballot received more votes than any other candidate, though not enough to nominate him. In 1857 he was re-elected to Congress by acclamation, and during the exciting session which followed he gave the last public efforts of his life to the measures by which it was sought to fasten the institution of slavery upon the embryo state of Kansas. The English bill referring the slavery question back to the people of Kansas was passed by the House, Quitman and Bonham alone of the Southern Democrats voting against it.

This was the closing act of a memorable and in many respects brilliant career. In July, 1858, General Quitman died on his plantation near Natchez. His last words were: "I wish to vindicate my vote," referring, doubtless, to his vote on the Lecompton bill. Had he lived longer, he would inevitably have drifted into the vortex of secession. A Northerner by birth, he became a slaveholder by marriage, and from that time on was one of the most ardent, and let us hope sincere, advocates of the peculiar institutions of the South. Not strictly a "fire-eater," he yet allowed few

of the "fire-eaters," even Southern-born, to excel him in his devotion to slavery or in upholding it as being necessary and just.

Emigration sometimes does much for a man, and it is curious to imagine what might have happened to John A. Quitman had he remained a citizen of Ohio. Descended from an old Italian family, he was perhaps better adapted for life among the volatile, hot-tempered Mississippians of the last generation, than to be a companion of the staid, plodding Buckeyes among whom he first cast his lot. And yet it may be that just what he needed was the steadying influence of such people as he would have moved among had he continued to be a citizen of the Scioto Valley. Success is not less negative than positive, and implies restraint, self-control, no less than impulse and execution. A man of naturally strong will and brilliant mind, coupled with good habits and great ambition, it is quite possible that John A. Quitman might have become as popular and as successful a political leader in Ohio as he was in Mississippi. His usefulness, indeed, might have been far greater, and his life far more satisfying, even though not so full of daring adventures and giddy episodes.

But with all due allowance for his faults there is much in his career to admire, and the more his character and abilities are studied, the more his extraordinary qualities will be appreciated. Fortune aided him much, but his energy and perseverance far more. Cast adrift with no other resources than a strong body and a vigorous, well-trained mind, he acquired an independent fortune, and achieved an enviable fame. Yet he threw away great opportunities, and a steadier balance, with equal executive force, would probably have made him, beyond all rivals, the most popular and successful leader of the Southern people.

Alfred E. Lu

CAPTAIN SILVESTER SALISBURY

Among the officers in command of the British forces sent to capture New Amsterdam (New York) from the Dutch in 1664, was Captain Silvester Salisbury. He was descended from the celebrated family of that name, whose history is intimately connected with that of Great Britain from the time of William the Conqueror. Like many another colonial settler, he identified himself with the new country by marriage, selecting a Dutch lady of New York. His daughter also married a resident of New York, and her descendants have preserved and cherished many letters written to Captain Salisbury, and, thanks to his method and care, have perfect copies in his hand-writing of many of his own letters to others. These letters are different in many respects from the ordinary historic correspondence, as they relate to places and localities with which we are all familiar, and are connected with scenes and circumstances that have passed into history.

After the capture of New Amsterdam, Captain Salisbury was appointed to command Fort Orange, which name he at once changed to Fort Albany, in honor of the Duke of Albany, afterwards James II. This fort was the germ of the present city of Albany. Captain Salisbury was also appointed high sheriff of Renssalerwick, and justice of the peace at Albany, positions of both civil and military distinction at the period.

Among the letters received by Captain Salisbury at Albany, is one from a brother officer dated "January 20, 167 $\frac{2}{3}$, Fort James on Manhattan Island," stating, among other things, "that a fleet of forty Dutch privateers was cruising in the West Indies, and causing many to think it would shortly visit New York." These surmises proved true; this fleet recaptured New York from the English, and seizing Captain Salisbury at Fort Albany, carried him a prisoner of war into Spain.* The letter is quaint and gossipy, and treats the reader to bits of local news in the metropolis of that date. It is addressed "To Capt. Silvester Salisbury, Governour of Fort Albany." The writer goes on to say:

"Yours of y^e 11th of January by Indian Post I received, who arrived here on y^e following 20th, wherein I can but take notice of y^e kind remem-

* England and France were in alliance against the Low Countries, and for a short time—in 1673 and 1674—Holland was in alliance with Spain. As the Dutch could not get up the English channel on account of English and French cruisers, Silvester was taken to Spain.

brance of your poor Servant, for which I am much bound to thank you, and not only that in particular, as also for the news you acquainted mee of, but likewise for your last Token of the Otter, sent mee by your Brother (in law), Marius, the w^{ch} I wear for your sake. But amidst the joy your letter brought mee, I was much astonisht and indeed noe less dejected at the relation of that barbarous Murder committed on our ffellow Souldier, Mr. Howard. 'Tis true the person was unknown to me, but yet as he was a Christian and a Souldier, I could but lament the Stratagem, especially when from such an unheard of Barbarity and by the hands of Infidells. However, herein our grief is extenuated, that through your prudence y^e actors for the Blood they spilt are like to launch their own to their Ruin. To w^{ch} end you will have received all Instructions and Directions conducible thereto, as also the Governour's and Secretary's more private Instructions therein by their letters, Wherein pray please to take notice, that although in the form for holding the Court w^{ch} is here sent you, you find the manner of Tryall to be by Jury, the w^{ch} you know is the custom of judging Christians, yet if you see fitt you are not obliged to square your Proceedings by that Pattern, but to try the Criminalls by the Bench without empanelling any Jury at all, y^e fact being soe clear and palpable, and the Murderous Infidells, who understand not Law, that such formality is useless soe, that in the very examining of them by your Commissioners, they bee found guilty, either by Confession or Circumstances, Sentence may forthwith bee pronounced. Here I confess, I must beg your pardon for being so free in a Matter, w^{ch} you are soe well verst in.

As for news here is little stirring, only this very evening, the Governour received a pacquett from White Hall, but to tell you what is in it, I can not, but doe refer you to Capt. Nicolls, his letter (who I question not) but does acquaint you with what is worthy perusall. However, this much understand, that there is not Peace, but as hott in Wars as ever, and the Scotts have franckly given eight hundred thousand pounds to His Majesty, towards the maintaining the Warr. 7 or 8 shippes are arrived to Boston from England this yeare, and 50 or 60 Sayles to Verginia, yet never a one hither, whereby you may judge what a dark corner it is, that we groap in. There is likewise a great Rumor amongst us, that there are 40 sayles of Dutch Privateers in the West Indyes, which gives many to think, wee shall shortly have a visit from them.

Lastly, for our own City news, let this satisfy, that t'other day, we had like to have lost our Hang-man, Ben Johnson, for hee, being taken in Divers thefts and Robbings, convicted and found guilty, scaped his neck through want of another Hang-man to truss him up, soe, that all the

punishment hee received for his 3 years Roguery in thieving and stealing (which was never found out until now) was only thirty-nine stripes at the Whipping Post, loss of an Ear and Banishment. All this happened about a fortnight since. Captain Manning had likewise 2 Servants which he employed at his Island, taken with Ben Johnson in their villainy, but they, being not found soe guilty as hee, came off with whipping and Banishment. Another Disaster about 12 days since befell a young man in this Town, by name one Mr. Wright, a one-eyed man, a Muff-maker by trade, who drink-hard upon Rum one evening with some friends, began a health of a whole half-pint at a Draught, which hee had noe sooner done but down hee fell and never rose more, which Prodigy may teach us all to have a care, how wee drink in imitation of that good old Lesson: 'Felix quem faciunt etc.' This young man's untimely death doth somewhat parallel that person in your letter, who you write was killed with a sling, the which in like manner could but strike a great amasement into all that heard it, by which we may see, that though there is but one way of coming into this world, yet there is a thousand ways of going out of it.

But Hon^{ble} Sir, I fear I press too much upon your patience. I shall therefore conclude. Only my humble service to yourself and Lady, wishing you all wellfare and happiness through the remaining part of this New Yeare, soe I take leave and remain, Sir, your very humble Servant,
J. O. Clarke.

My kind respects I beseech you to Mr. Siston to whom I would have writt had time permitted. ffor the credit about Customes there is none come forth yett. But if in any thing I may serve you, command mee when opportunity presents, and you will find me obsequious to your will.

Once again, Vale.

from y^e Secretary's Office in ffort James, the 20th day of January in the evening, 167³."

A letter from Captain Salisbury, written to a cousin of his in Portsmouth, England, after his release from incarceration in Spain and return to Fort Albany, contains a very interesting story of some Algerine prisoners, and is in some sense a sequel to Captain Clarke's letter. It is dated "Oct. y^e 18th, 1678, Forte Albany," and reads as follows: "Dear Cousin: I make bould to trouble you with these few lines consarning a case of beavers, marked, as you may see in the margint and which hath been collected upon charity for some people y^t was taken by the Turkes in a small pinke belonging to this place called by y^e name of y^e Susannah of New

York. They was taken y^e lasste year; in Oct., 1677. The case above mentioned is in parte towards their redemption; therefore, the Ministers and Church Wardens of this place hath desired me to writte to you, that you will be pleased to assist Captain Martine, who is Commander of y^e good shippe, y^e *Blossom*, and so y^e charges of the same case of beavers being charity to do as little as possible may. (Sic.) S^r, I am very much ashamed to writte to you consarning myself, by reason I have so much neglected in not writing to you. Y^e last letter y^t I writte to you was by the ship called the Good Faim of New York, Mr. Fryer being master of her. I fear you may forgett me; I went over with Colonel Nichols out of England in 1664, but in Colonel Lovelaces' time was taken prisoner by the Dutch at Forte Albany, where I was then commander. Soe carreyed away into Spain, and at my return his Royal Hyness haith returned me to my same place again. Soe hoping you will be pleased to doe this out of charity, in helping what you can, you will ever oblige him y^t will be redy to sarve you here in what he may. and remaining your namesake and, if you be please, your very loving Cousin and Sarv^t,

S. S.

This case is marked per Margint as you may see, and I hope Captain Martine will drinke a glass of wine with you for my sake as he haith promised me.

Vale!"

At that early date the Barbary States were preying on the commerce of the infant colony, and making slaves of its sea-faring citizens. It also exhibits the weakness of the parent country, England, in not redressing the wrong. It appears that a petition had been made to the governor of New York by Warner Wessels and Antie Christians asking authority to collect moneys for the redemption of prisoners in bondage in the Barbary States in 1693, in which reference was made to a like proceeding in 1678. This, no doubt, was the "brief" of authority given to collect the beaver skins mentioned in Silvester Salisbury's letter to his cousin Hugh, of Portsmouth, England. The petition was dated October 18, 1678, and is worded thus:

"To his Excellency, Benj. Fletcher, Capt. Gen. & Gen. Capt., chieffe of y^e Province of New Yorke, Pennsylvania, New Castle and Counties depending thereon in America &c., and Vice Admiral of y^e same. The humble petition of Warner Wessels and Antie Christians sheweth:

That y^e sonne of y^r servant, Warner Wessels, and y^e husband of y^r servant, Antie Christians, being taken slaves into Salley (sic) by y^e infidels, y^r excellency was pleased upon their humble request, to grant them a

brieffe to collect and receive y^e free and bountiful charity of all good Christians within this province for y^e redemption of the said miserable persons; but in regard y^r humble petitioners are no ways fitt or qualified to collect y^e s^d benevolence, but have so far prevailed with the church wardens and ministers of this citty to collect and receive the same, do humbly pray: That y^r Ex^{cl} would be pleased to grant in such form as y^e annexed which was directed to y^e ministers and church wardens upon the like occasion when a vessel was taken by the Turks in y^e year 1678 and y^t they may be informed to collect 100 pounds which is y^e somme y^t will redeem y^e s^d miserable persons, y^e over-plus, if any be, to be delivered as y^r ex^{cl} shall see meet to be employed for y^e like pious uses."

Governor Fletcher acceded to the request of the petitioners, and issued his "brieffe" of authority to collect such moneys, and appointed Stephanus Van Courtland, Peter Jacob Marius (brother-in-law of Silvester Salisbury), John Kerbyll and John Kipp a committee, who at once proceeded to make the collection. This "brieffe" of authority was dated June 8, 1693. The money when collected was sent to Holland to May and Bancker, bankers, of Amsterdam, who wrote March 20, 1700, to the committee, saying:

"Our last to you was of the 3d of January, 1699, wherein it was stated that Bartholomew Rushton and William Green were alive in Maquin, and through our correspondence at Cadiz we have since used every effort for their redemption; and now lately by letter (a copy of which is annexed), we have received the welcome tidings that in virtue of an agreement obtained by the English they will receive their freedom in a few months; therefore we shall have to contribute but little of the moneys in our hands. We shall be most gladly advised how and in what manner we are to employ the balance of the money, whether in the shipment of goods or on drafts which you may be pleased to draw. Awaiting which we shall end, and remain with due respect after all dutiful salutations. Your Dutiful Sr^{ts},
Herr May
William Bancker."

As early as December, 1707, the church wardens and vestry of Trinity Church petitioned the governor to give them the use of the money collected for the redemption of the Barbary prisoners (it not being needed for that purpose) to finish Trinity Church, and erect a steeple thereto, binding themselves in case any of the money was required to redeem prisoners still in bondage, to be accountable for the same. It was therefore ordered that the trustees deliver over the papers and all things relating thereto and the

said sum of money to Thomas Wenham and Robert Lurting, church wardens of Trinity Church, aforesaid. This church edifice was the original one, afterwards consumed by fire during the occupation of the city by the British troops.

Captain Salisbury was sent to England by Governor Andros about 1675 for the purpose of trying to persuade the king to cede Connecticut to New York. The following antique document explains itself:

"To the Committee of trade in the Province of New York,
British Parliament, Feb. 22, 1687.

My Lords: Since my writing this, on perusal of some papers in the Secretary's office, I find some memorandums of Sir Edmund Andros, whereby I understand that in the year 1675-6 he sent home Captain Salisbury to England to let his Royal Highness, now his majesty, James II, know how impossible it was for this government to subsist without the addition of Connecticut; and he himself went with some soldiers to surprise them, intending when he had done it to keep possession by a Fort he designed to make at a place called Saybrook, but was prevented by the opposition of two companies of men then lodged there ready to go out against the Indians with whom they were in war. Much less can it subsist now, without it being at more expense than in the time of Sir Edmund, and having lost Delaware, and so consequently the Peltry trade, which is not much inferior to that of the Beaver, besides much quit rents, and the excise revenue, and to what helps we had there from East and West Jersey. Weighing this with the reasons afore mentioned, I hope his Majesty will be graciously pleased to add that Colony to this, which is the centre of all his dominions in America; and the people thereof have been more inclined to his Majesty's service, and have experienced upon all occasions more loyalty than any other of these parts."

No doubt Captain Salisbury was chosen for this mission to let his Majesty know that the Colony of Connecticut was essential to the comfort and greatness of New York, on account of his being known personally at court. The result of his visit was a secret; but as Connecticut was not annexed to New York, he certainly was not successful so far as that project was concerned. The secretary of Sir Edmund Andros wrote to the Duke: "Captain Salisbury is arrived, and as soon as I have the opinion of his Royal Highness and his own commands on the several particulars of the letters brought by Captain Salisbury I shall not fail to send you a clear account."

A letter from the Duke to Sir Edmund Andros, dated "Whitehall, January 25th, 1675," is preserved. He says:—"I have considered of what ye

have written me by Captain Salisbury touching the command of all the land lying on the West side of the Connecticut River, or lying within my patent, which demand I approve well of, in order to preserve my title entire, which the King, my brother, conveyed to me; but at present for further reasons, I am not willing you should proceed further. I refer you to the Secretary's letter for further particulars. I send you this by the hand of Captain Salisbury, of whom I have a good character, and therefore I would have you remember him upon any fit occasion for advancement in my service."

When Captain Salisbury returned from this mission to England, he brought with him his household belongings, furniture, pictures and silverware engraved with the Salisbury arms, together with two swords or rapiers; one a gentleman's sword, stamped "1616," the other a sword given on knighthood, stamped "1544." They are mounted in silver, of dainty workmanship, and the arms of the family engraved on them. The knight's sword is marked "S.A.C.H.G.V.M." In English law "S.A.C." meant the privilege given by the king to the lord of a manor for holding courts, trying various cases and imposing fines, &c. "H." means Henry. "G.V.M.," given for valor military. From its inscription the sword was probably a gift from Henry VIII. to a Salisbury at the siege of Boulogne, in his war of 1544, probably to Henry Salisbury of Llanrhaidr Hall, who was in the army at that time. Captain Salisbury, being a lineal descendant, came in possession of it and preserved it as a precious heirloom of his ancestor's loyalty and valor. Another relic brought by him was a claymore, picked up at Flodden Field in the time of Henry VIII. There was also an escutcheon, or coat of arms belonging to his family, the same as descended from the Llewini branch, carved in oak or some hard wood, such as were placed over the doors of the manor houses of the owners.

But the heirloom most prized by him and his descendants is an oil painting, nearly or quite life size, of Anne Boleyn, the beautiful but unfortunate queen of Henry VIII., and mother of Queen Elizabeth. The tradition handed down with the painting is that it came into the Salisbury family by a marriage with a near relative of that unfortunate queen. The painting is supposed to be by Hans Holbein, the court painter of Henry VIII. It is in a state of good preservation, and when first seen by the writer was covered by the grime of centuries which rendered it indistinct; but its great age and the circumstances surrounding it made it a curiosity to all who saw it.

Some years since, anxious to see the illustrious queen more distinctly, a lady of the family, a descendant of Captain Salisbury, had it restored, or

rather cleaned by a German artist of New York. As the rich brown tints and flesh-like hues, so marked in Holbein's works, came gradually to light under the manipulation of the careful artist, his enthusiasm knew no bounds, but dancing around the canvas, he shouted, "A Holbein! A Holbein! A Holbein!"

A literary notable of the town of Catskill (where this old painting now is) describes it thus :

"The picture is a remarkable one, growing upon you as you sit and contemplate it. It seems to start from the background and the fair queen appears before you as in the flesh; the lips parted, as if to speak; her eyes glowing with subdued fire. The handsome sitter in the painting wears a brown velvet dress, long-waisted and low-necked, the sleeves are slashed and looped, disclosing the white sleeve beneath. On her head she wears a black lace covering in Spanish style. It flows down behind and is gathered in her lap with her left hand, whose deformity its folds suggest and yet conceal. The right elbow rests on a pedestal, and over the whole picture is thrown a life-like attitude, happily caught by the artist."

Anne Boleyn's mother was a daughter of the Duke of Norfolk; the aged Duchess presided at the court of Henry VIII. and was the grandmother of Anne Boleyn. Upon the queen's death, Henry VIII. appointed her state governess to the Royal Elizabeth, giving her (history says) the home, furniture, silverware, etc., which he had bestowed upon Anne Boleyn.

Catharine, the youngest daughter and child of the Duchess, married the grandson of Sir Rhys ap Thomas of Dynefwr Carnaeven, Wales, the descendant of a long line of princes. This Sir Rhys was a notable person and had much to do with placing Henry VII. on the throne, to commemorate which, and to celebrate his being made a knight of the Garter, he instituted a great tournament, to which came Sir Robert Salisbury from his castle in Wales, with horses from his own stables, all caparisoned for the contest. This Sir Robert was a brother of Henry Salisbury of Llanrhaidr Hall, ancestor of Captain Silvester Salisbury. Henry Salisbury married Margaret, daughter and heiress of Griffeth ap Rhys and Catharine, his wife, daughter of the Duchess of Norfolk and aunt of Queen Elizabeth. Circumstantial evidence, therefore, would suggest that the above mentioned portrait was painted by Holbein for Henry VIII. and adorned the house which he gave, after the death of his queen, to the Duchess of Norfolk, and that it was by her conveyed to the home of her grand-daughter Margaret, wife of Henry Salisbury, and brought by her descendant, Captain Silvester Salisbury, to this country about the year 1675-6.

Captain Salisbury, while commander of the fort at Albany, had the care and management of the Indian tribes of the North and West. The chief among these were the Mohawks, or, as they were then called, Marquas, whose warlike propensities kept the colony of New York in constant alarm; and, as they extended their incursions into the Massachusetts colony, and as far north as the French colonies of Canada, the management of them was no sinecure. The letters of Captain Salisbury from 1675 until his death are full of his dealings with the Indians and with the governors of the neighboring colonies. Among these we find the following:

"Capt. Brockholls.
S^r :

Upon the 20th of the present I received a let^r from Scannecestada y^t there is 2 great troopes going out of the Mauquas fighteing to the North; one troope from the Unagoungas, but y^e other I am in thoughts y^t thay will goe to wards Major Pynchons or that way. To say how many there is in each troope I cannot Learne, and what y^e event will be, time must bringe to passe. I have had noe op^t tynytye to writ to Mayor Talkutt since I have received his Let^r, but if you will pleas to let me know anything what I shall write to him, if op^t tynytye Doeth present, I shall be very Redy. All is well at the present, but my poore Child is at y^e present very sore, but I hope in God he shall doe well, which is all at present from hime

Y^t is your very humble Serv^t.

Sil^{re} Salisbury.

Fforte Albany y^e 24th of June, 1678."

This letter mentions the sickness of his child, an infant son named Silvester, who died in infancy, from the same sickness, probably, here mentioned. Captain Salisbury appears to have been an affectionate father, and in his letters to the different ones in authority he frequently speaks of his home matters in the midst of business affairs, showing that his heart was with his family.

"To Sec^{ry} Nicolls,

Dear S^r I have not anything worth acquainteing you with, only on the 5th of this month, about 5 in the afternoone, God was pleased to bestoe & blesse me with a dough^r, & as to other News is that y^t Takagharatt, a forefigh^r of y^e Maquas has benn in y^e North with 20 men & has met with a neste of Roges of y^e North Indians y^t hath Lived this 2 years by themselves without any coraspondeancy with Christian or Indian, and have killed 5 and have tooke 6 alive, and yesterday Mr. Windall, of this townce, being at Scannecestada spoake with a Maquas that came from

Cannada & he tould him y^t there was Arrived from France five Shipes with 2000 men, and y^t thay had found a Sylver mine, and y^t thay was bildeing by it a greate fort to Containe 80 great gouns & y^t thay was bildeing another fort betwixte Cauderaque up ye Lake neere to ye Sen- nickses to get all the trade & to hinder all thay Cane for Coming heere. This is all at the present from him y^t is your Loving friend & Serv^t

Sil^r Salisbury."

There is also an interesting correspondence which grew out of a controversy between Captain Salisbury and the authorities of Massachusetts in relation to some Nattick Indians. The Maquas, in one of their forays, had gone into Massachusetts and captured prisoners which they conveyed into the wilderness to the west of Albany where they tortured and burned them. The Massachusetts men claimed that Captain Salisbury should have ransomed them, but he replied that they had not furnished him the requisite means, or requested him to do so. In a letter from Captain Brockholls to Captain Salisbury he says:

"As to what you mention in your Last Letter of the uncertainty, how long things will bee quiet with you & the Maquas being troubled about the Nattick Indians, who you think are most burnt by them, what is past cannot be recalled, but doe wish, you had more vigorously demanded these prisoners out of th^r Maquas hands whilst with you (as directed), which might have prevented these apprehensions, but there is no living with the Maquas at this rate, that they shall take what prisoners they please, either friend or foe & without a ransome destroy them. I shall conclude and heartily wish there bee a right understanding of these matters, that the Governor at his returne bee not to much displeased therewith, w^{ch} I am not willing to question but you have done y^e best in yor Judg^{mt}; so I remaine."

Also in a letter to Captain Brockholls, Captain Salisbury says in regard to the Nattick Indians:

"Capt. Brockholls, I have Received yours baring date y^e 4th of July Concerning Tyador, y^e Maquas forefighter & his prissoners, y^e Nattick Indians, which I doe believe that y^e most part of them Are burned ere this time, as I have had from other Indians y^t Comes every Day out of y^e lande. You say I shoulde Sequere them in my hands, or be put to be kept in y^e hands of our friends, y^e Mohocanders. All this was well what you write, but th^r Moquas are not those sort of people y^t Deliver up their

prissoners for nothing. I doe believe I could have released them for £200 or there abouts, but never had any orders To Disburse any Money for another Collony's Indians, & if I should, then the Governor would be Angorry, we haveing nothing to doe with them nor receive any proffitt by them, and with your leave my thought is y^t if y^e New England people had any kindness for them they would have sent a man time anoffe to have bene at Albany to have spoken with Tyadory, for he was Long anoffe on his way ; but about 14 days affter Sends me a letter to Desire me to Threaten y^e Mauquas for them ; but I Doe think such sort of Im- plyment will becom them Selves better, y^e copy I have sent to in my laste, for in Stead of Sending of Such a let^r, if thay had sent me order to have Disboursed for them 500 or 600 Gilders to have given y^e Maquas, then Perhapse there Eyees might have bene open, but other ways they be as Deaffe as a stone.

There are more troopes of y^e Maquas out, as I doe here, but come not in our towne, but go over by y^e half Moone. I here y^t one troope Contains of 30 North Indians & but one Mauquas in yer Company; what it will produce God knows, but I fere it will not be good. That is all at present from hime whose Desire is to be esteemed

your friend and humble Serv^t

Sil^{rs} Salisbury."

This letter was followed by one from Captain Brockholls on the same subject, to which Captain Salisbury replies :

"Hon^r S^r This day there arrived here a troop of 60 Mauquas with 22 prissoners, to wit, 3 men, 17 women, 2 Boys & 2 Crounes, (sic) who state they are frind Indians of y^e English, whereupon I calles y^e Court forth- with and Resolvd to send y^e Secretary & Aernout, y^e Interpreter, to y^e Prissoners to examint them from whence they were, who doe say they are Nattick Indians, frinds to y^e English & under the Command of Major Guggine; and say they were taken in a Indian Cornfield, called Megaeh- nak, miles from Suddberry, whereupon Tahaidin, the forefigther of y^e Mau- quas was told and Reminded of y^e propositions made by Major Pinchon & Mr. Richards, then Agents of N. England, that yey should befrind y^r Indians, and like wayse how y^e Mauquas Promised to do them no harm. Who answered and said they were taken about 6 mile from any English Place & therefore did take them to be their enemies. Nevertheless Tahai- din Promises that they shall not be Damnyfied till further orders, but I cannot rely upon his word. This is that which hath now lately happened.

I desire that you would send me your advise whereabouts by y^e first. I doubt not if y^e be frind Indians (as they say) but you or I will receive letters there anent speedily; but if not, Possible they will not trouble them selves, but I doe presume they are of those Praying Indians, because there is one among them that brought y^e Indian Bible here in Gover^r Nicolls' time. No more at present, I am S^r

Your very humble Servt.

Sil^m Salisbury."

The government of these people was a difficult matter; if an officer permitted his feelings to move him in a Christian spirit he was censured, as is shown from the following Minutes of Council:

"COUNCIL MINUTE.

Indians very Unquiet and Warlike.

At a Council 16th July, 1677.

A letter from Captain Salisbury and one from Colonel Courcy of the 10th, menconing an Intelligence from Father Bruyas and his letter also read from Maques Castle of forty Oneydas design to fall on our River Indians at Cattskill, and about an English Girle among the Oneydas; and Capt. Salisbury writing to Father Bruyas requireing the Indians to bring her; also of report of Sinneques coming in 10 days and advice for the Govern^r going up. Advised and Resolved that the Govern^r did nott goe up tiil appointed time, y^e latter end of Aug., and in y^e Interim an Indian may deliver their message, if occasion at Albany to be sent to the Govern^r, or come to York themselves.

Capt. Salisbury to be checkt for writing about the Girl with out order, but particularly for employing the Jesuite; and upon all occasions and addresses, that he referr to what is past, or if occasion, to the Govern^r, & in no case give any other answer or resolves of himself."

Thus, when he interested himself in the redemption of an English girl from the hands of the Oneydas, the Council checked him; but when he did not step out of his authority to redeem Christian Indians, for which no funds were provided, he was censured by the Massachusetts people and governor! Truly, how could he act to suit all?

John I. Morris

METHODS OF TEACHING HISTORY

Ordinary history lies under five questions—Where? When? What? Who? Why? This order may be varied to suit the purpose or the genius of the historian. The philosophy of history is another department in authorship. Omitting either of these divisions leaves the learner with a medley of information, and the miscellany of raw material comes not much nearer to history than a warehouse of baled cotton does to a well arranged dry-goods house.

In attempting to write or teach history, it is a great misfortune not to attach the material to dates and places and persons. These are to history what the mortise and tenon are to the coming building—fixtures, certainties, and necessities in it, to and from which all in the building is to be measured, and by which it is distinguishable from a lumber yard. Facts have more than a home feeling; they have what in the animal we call instinct, tending to a habitat. To this the mind is responsive, so that when historical facts are called up we at once seek to locate them geographically and chronologically. Otherwise they are lost wanderers, waifs, or estrays. Indeed an event does not come within the pale of history till it is labeled with time and place. Hence the exceedingly important consideration of selecting cardinal, seminal, radiating events to the prominence and dignity of historical position. For these great historical centres are, as the great cities, very few, and a village must not be mistaken for one of them.

In giving the five questions, Who? will ordinarily come last, since it is the province of history to bring forward actions and not actors. The learner needs to know results, and biographies and especially eulogies should be remanded to their own and most important department in authorship. Personal and eulogistic history, as distinguished from biography, carries a triple wrong. (a) To predecessors and associates, who did much in preparing the way and in carrying affairs to the important result. (b) To history itself, in narrowing and dwarfing it to single men and simple biography. In public offices, sometimes the subordinates who do the work are not named or known, while the official head who cannot do it is the only one mentioned. (c) To readers and pupils, in outlining to them a series of men instead of the current of events which constitute human progress.

Therefore, an event or place or date or person should be taken as an

eminent centre, from which great influences radiate, and around and from and to this, one acquiring history should work till he is master of the situation; and then another and still another, till a line of such centres is established. In this way the outlines of a local or national or universal history will be established. It is said that Neander began in this way to write up prominent events in the history of the church, in a series of monographs. Afterwards he wrote into the series some personal relations and minor connecting events, and the result was Neander's *Church History*.

Nor is it necessary to fill the spaces between the events with minute details. Leave these centres to stand out with prominence, as the great cities do to one who has made the tour of the United States. The villages between one can afford to ride by asleep. When Choate was compelled to give up his European tour at one of the Provincial ports, and was awaiting his final voyage in the chamber which overlooked the offing, he gave orders to his attendant: "If a schooner or sloop goes by do not disturb me, but if there is a square-rigged vessel wake me up." There are minor items of knowledge which a learned man should not be ashamed to know. Yet here is the infelicity of much historical teaching in print and by the living voice, which have the dead level of the prairie, where everything is seen and pointed out and made equally impressive. Perhaps our histories of nations and of the old-world centuries are not too bulky for the library and for reference, as we use encyclopædias, but it might be well to have a Sibyl on our school committees to reduce the size of historical text-books. Our children might then be able to know something of Erick and Columbus, the Plains of Abraham, and Yorktown and the birth of thirty-eight States, and something of our government and incredible growth, before they master all the Jonesvilles in their own county and the mud villages on the Nile in the days of the Shepherd Kings, and the itineraries of the Aryan race and of the Goths and Vandals, and the bills of fare at the suppers of Lucullus, and a list of the knights made on Flodden Field.

Many a bright scholar has given study enough to history and read enough since school days to have a fair historical scholarship. But his labor has been sadly wasted through a lack of discrimination between inferior and superior topics, and by attention to an infinitude of items within narrow localities. Says Parkman in his *Discovery of the Great West*: "In early Spanish maps the Mississippi is often indistinguishable from other affluents of the Gulf."

There is probably no department in education where so much is really acquired and so little retained and made available as in history. It is too much like botanizing with a mowing machine and a raker, and a hay loft

for the herbarium. And some of the popular and most voluminous writers of juvenile histories and biographies lead irresistibly to this result. They cultivate indefiniteness and irksomeness over dates and places and names in later days by suppressing them, and run off whole chapters without a foot-note of authority. When the writer made a suggestion to one of these authors that the remedy for this deficiency would add much to the value of his books, he replied that readers would be rather hindered than instructed by such additions. Of course if one is writing from memory, or from historical note-books of long accumulation, when he failed to enter author, book and page, rapid production would be hindered, by removing the deficiency. Yet possibly the republic of letters for minors and pupils would nevertheless be much benefited. Then we are more ready to accept some books on the simple statement of the author than others, but a history is not one of them. Moreover, there is an instructing and culminative force brought to bear on the reader or pupil when places and dates and persons are kept in connection with the events stated and standard authorities are quoted for the statements made. In this way not one alone writes or teaches, but many writers or teachers are in combination to make an impression, and if what is embraced under our five questions unites to impress the event, the unities of history are preserved, and thus history itself.

H. Barrows

THE ESCAPE OF GRANT AND MEADE

A CORRECTION OF HISTORY

General Grant, in his *Memoirs* (Vol. II., 210), describes his escape from riding into the enemy's lines on the evening of the 7th of May, 1864, as the army was moving to Spottsylvania, after the battle of the Wilderness. The incident narrated is true in most respects; but, either from misinformation given at the time, or lapse of memory, Grant unwittingly attributes to the wrong man the credit of preventing an accident which might have changed the fate of the war, and resulted in untold misfortune to the army and the nation. The writer of this paper had the good fortune to prevent that impending disaster, as the following account will explain:

Grant writes: "Meade and I rode in advance. We had passed but a little way beyond our left when the road forked. We looked to see, if we could, which road Sheridan had taken with his cavalry during the day. It seemed to be the right-hand road, and accordingly we took it. We had not gone far, however, when Colonel C. B. Comstock, of my staff, with the instinct of the engineer, suspecting we were on a road that would lead us into the lines of the enemy, if he, too, were moving, dashed by at a rapid gallop, and all alone. In a few minutes he returned and reported that Lee was moving, and that the road we were on would bring us into his lines in a short distance. We returned to the forks of the road, left a man to indicate the right road to the head of Warren's column when it should come up, and continued our journey to Todd's Tavern, where we arrived after midnight."

The portion of the narrative that is incorrect is that which attributes to Colonel Comstock and "the instinct of the engineer" the discovery of their mistake.

The truth is, that the Second Corps (Hancock's) occupied a position along and near the Brock Road, on the extreme left of the army, the 1st Division occupying that portion of the line along a road which "forked" from the Brock Road and led to the houses of Stephens and Trigg, where it intersected a cross road running westerly. Upon our taking this position, May 5, this road was only a track leading toward the houses, but the movement of troops and artillery over it gave it more the appearance of a well-traveled road than the one from which it forked.

On the day mentioned by General Grant, our left had been drawn in, and re-fused, so as to lie across both that road and the Brock, at nearly a right angle with the right of the line. The First Brigade of the division was on the left, its right on the farm road, and its left crossing the Brock. This arrangement of the line was on account of a threatened attack by the enemy for the purpose of cutting us off from the Brock Road. Breast-works had been thrown up, but the usual passage-way for troops was arranged at either road. Grant's route toward Todd's Tavern was in rear of the 1st Division, passing through our left on the Brock Road.

Toward evening the 1st Division received its marching orders. They were to "follow the Fifth Corps closely." The Fifth Corps was far to our right, and must pass along the rear of the whole army before reaching our position on the left. It was late in the evening before any signs of movement were discernible, and our worn-out men were sleeping in close and more than doubled ranks along and across the road spoken of, the headquarters of the First Brigade being close to them, between the two roads.

The writer was a personal aide to General Nelson A. Miles, then commanding the First Brigade, 1st Division, Second Army Corps, and was detailed to remain awake and watch the march of the Fifth Corps, in order to arouse and set our division in motion when the time should come "to follow the Fifth Corps closely." While so watching, frequent trips were made across to the Brock Road, or back to the intersection of the two, in order to keep wakeful, returning to the headquarters flag (where a small fire was burning) whenever tired of watching.

It was soon after returning from one of these trips that he was surprised to hear, and then to distinguish in the darkness, a cavalcade of horsemen advancing along the road upon and along which our troops were lying. Running quickly to the head of the column, he cried, "Halt!" and at the same moment recognized General Meade at the head of his staff and escort. He rather brusquely asked, "Who halts me? Do you know who I am?" The writer replied, "Yes, you are General Meade," and gave his own name, rank, and position, adding, "I halted you because a few steps more will bring your horses among our sleeping men, and if you go further you will be outside of our lines and riding toward the enemy." He asked, "How can that be—is not this the Brock Road?" When informed that he had left that road some distance back, he conferred for a moment with General Seth Williams, who was by his side, and then asked the writer if he could put him on the right road. To mount and ride back with him to the "forks" of the road (his staff and escort in wheeling being obliged to exercise great care not to trample upon the rear ranks of

sleeping men), was the work of but a few minutes, and the general's thanks were expressed in a warm manner as for a great service.

It was not until the publication of Grant's *Memoirs*, after both of these great commanders had gone to join the majority, that the writer learned that General Grant and his staff were a part of the halted column, but all the above facts were recorded in his diary at the time, and have kept fresh in his memory.

Through Colonel Frederick Grant, Colonel Comstock's attention was called to this claim soon after the publication of the *Memoirs*, but probably wishing to retain whatever credit Grant's narrative gives him for discovering the mistake, in a letter of May 25, 1886, to Colonel Grant, he attempts to make it appear that "the incident related by General Grant occurred *while it was still daylight*, and after we had passed the Second Corps on our way to Spottsylvania." He adds, "I am quite confident that General Meade was not with General Grant at the time." But this theory would seem to be entirely disproved by the facts, and by Grant's own narration of the event.

The narrative makes it very clear that the incident related by General Grant occurred *after dark*, and not "while it was still daylight."

He says, "*Soon after dark* Warren withdrew," etc. . . . "Warren's march carried him immediately behind where Hancock's command lay on the Brock Road. With my staff, and a small escort of cavalry, I preceded the troops. *Meade with his staff accompanied me.*"

Alluding to the cheers of Hancock's troops as he passed, he says, "The enemy must have taken it for a *night attack*. . . . *Meade and I rode in advance.*"

Taking these statements, the fact that he arrived at Todd's Tavern, but a short distance away, "after midnight," and all the other facts which have become a part of history, into consideration, it seems clear that there could have been but one incident of the kind that evening, that it occurred *after dark*, and that Grant and Meade were both part of the incident.

The stopping of Meade occurred at the extreme left. Warren's Corps was far to the right—some miles away. General Grant and all historians of the campaign say that Warren withdrew and commenced his march towards the left *after dark*. It would necessarily be considerably later when the head of the marching column reached Hancock's left. As a matter of fact, it was well on toward midnight, and it was broad daylight before the Fifth Corps had passed and we got the road.

Had Grant passed the Second Corps "while it was still daylight," he would not have thought of the cheers being taken by the enemy for a

"night attack," nor would it have taken until "after midnight" to reach Todd's Tavern, unless he loitered like a school-boy on the way. Had he reached the place "where the roads forked" while it was still daylight, no such mistake could have been made, for immediately after leaving the Brock Road he would have been in the open country around the houses of Stephens and Trigg, and the breastworks, lined with troops, would have clearly indicated that he was on the wrong prong of the fork, and the error must have been discovered before reaching the point he did.

More than this, there is no other place "where the roads forked." The next and only outlet toward the enemy was the road which leaves the Brock at a right angle and passes Trigg's house, and no commander would think of leaving his direct route to Todd's by a road which turned squarely to the right.

It was the "fork" which misled them. It left the main road at such an acute angle that the two ran almost side by side for quite a little distance, and being so well beaten into the semblance of a road, it is not surprising that it was mistaken for the main route.

General Grant's impression that the error was discovered through the instinct of the engineer is explainable upon a simple theory. Grant and his staff may have been at the time a little in rear of the head of the column. When it was halted, some member of his staff would naturally ride to the front to discover the cause. He could not have galloped thirty feet beyond the head of the column without trampling upon the sleeping troops and being stopped by the breastworks, and had he reached that point by trampling over men sleeping with their hands on the locks of loaded muskets, what the result would have been can only be imagined. But reaching the head of the column, he would learn of the cause of the halt, and return to report it to his chief.

The fact that they were on the wrong road and one that led into the enemy's lines, would be the important fact for Grant to know and remember. How it was ascertained would be of minor importance, and if then stated might easily be forgotten and erased from memory.

There are officers living who knew of this incident at the time, and who can corroborate every fact here stated. We can only regret that the great commander, and his great subordinate commander, who shared in this incident, have been waked by the reveille of the Infinite Ruler, and are lost to the nation they did so much to save.

R. S. Robertson,

MINOR TOPICS

WITH CORTEZ IN MEXICO

1519

"Mater a Dios, preserve us
And give us the Mexican gold,
Viva Espana forever!"
Light-hearted, treacherous, bold,
With clashing of drums and of cymbals,
With clatter of hoofs and of arms,
Into the Tezcucan city,
Over the Tezcucan farms;
In through the hordes of Aztecs,
Past glitter of city and lake,
Brave for death or for conquest,
And the Mother of God's sweet sake.

Perchance from distant Grenada,
Perchance from the Danube's far blue,
Had fought with Moor and Saracen,
Where the death hail of battle-fields flew.
Down through the smoke and the battle,
Trolling an old Moorish song,
Chanting an Ave or Pater,
To whiten the red of his wrong.
Dreaming of Seville, Toledo,
And dark soft Catholic eyes,
Light-hearted, reckless, and daring,
He rides under Mexican skies.

Child of valor and fortune,
Nurtured to ride, and to strike,
Fearless in defeat or in conquest,
Of man and of devil alike.
Out through the clamor of battle,
Up through rivers of blood,
"Viva Espana forever!"
God and the bold brotherhood!

Strike for the memories left us,
 Strike for the lives that we keep,
 Strike for the present and future,
 In the name of our comrades who sleep ;
 Strike ! for Jesus' sweet Mother,
 For the arms and the vows that we hold ;
 Strike for fortune and lover,
 God, and the Mexican gold."

* * * * *

At morning gay, careless in battle,
 With love on his lips, in his eyes,
 At even stretched pallid and silent,
 Out under the Mexican skies.
 And far in some old Spanish city,
 Two dark eyes wait patient and long
 For a lover who sailed to the westward
 Trolling an old Moorish song.

W. W. Campbell

WASHINGTON'S GIFT TO HAMILTON

Letter from Hon. Alexander Hamilton.

EDITOR OF MAGAZINE OF AMERICAN HISTORY :

In the "Washington number" of your Magazine, which I have just read with much pleasure, and in an article over your signature, I find the following. Speaking of the replica of Stuart's full length portrait of Washington, painted for the Marquis of Lansdowne, purchased by Mr. Constable, you say: "It is in perfect preservation at the present time and in the possession of Mr. Constable's grandson, Mr. Henry E. Pierrepont of Brooklyn. *Before it was sent to New York, however, Stuart painted a half length Washington from it, which Mr. Constable presented to Alexander Hamilton, and which is now in the possession of that great financier's grandson.*"

The part I have italicized is wholly an error, so far as it confounds the Stuart in my possession with either of the portraits belonging to Mr. Constable. The one I have bears the date "Dec: 1797" placed on it by Stuart, according to a very

common practice of artists. Stuart's bill to Mr. Constable, the original of which I have seen, is as follows:

"W ^m Constable Esq	to G. Stuart	D ^r	
1796 Nov ^r to one portrait of said W.		D ^r	100
1797 July 4. one of the late President of the United States			
at full length.			500
1797 July 4. one do half length.			250
			<hr/>
		D ^r	850 Dollars

Philadelphia July 13. 1797."

Receipt in full on the Bill signed
G. Stuart.

This bill shows that all Mr. Constable's pictures, and there seem to have been three, were finished and paid for and no doubt delivered—as Mr. Constable's impatience to have them is clearly shown by his two visits to Philadelphia in his chariot and four to watch their progress—six months before the portrait in my possession was completed.

What became of Mr. Constable's two other portraits of Washington I have no means of knowing, but the dates and the bill show clearly that none of them can be confounded with the one in my possession.

The picture I have was the gift of Washington to Hamilton, with another interesting object belonging to me, also Washington's gift.

Washington had repeatedly called upon Hamilton, when the latter was in private life, for aid in preparing his messages, his Farewell Address, and other important papers, which was fully and freely given, and Washington's letters to Hamilton contain more apologies for so doing than he ever addressed to any other man. Washington felt the obligation and wished to show his sense of it. Hence the two gifts.

This portrait has been in the possession of my grandfather's family for about ninety years, and my grandmother, my father, and the older members of the family spoke of it always as Washington's gift.

My father, who was sixteen years of age when his father, General Hamilton died, left it to me by will, and speaks of it as the "Portrait of Washington by Stuart presented to my Father, by General Washington."

I cannot suppose that your information came from Mr. Pierrepont, as this explanation has been already made to him. You have probably taken it from the "Life of Gilbert Stuart," which is inaccurate in this instance, as I hear it is in others. Mr. Constable's family no doubt confounded the portrait with another gift of Mr. Constable to General Hamilton of some interesting French books.

IRVINGTON, NEW YORK, January 31, 1888.

A. Hamilton.

ORIGINAL DOCUMENTS

AN UNPUBLISHED WASHINGTON LETTER

From the Collection of Mr. William Alexander Smith.

[*Editor Magazine of American History*: The following letter of Genl George Washington to Genl Alexander Spotswood, which I believe has never before been published, has a timely application to the present condition of our country and further evidences his strongly patriotic feeling. W^m ALEX. SMITH.]

Philadelphia 22 Nov^r 1798.

D^r Sir,

Your letter of the 13th ins^t enclosing a publication under the signature of Gracchus, on the Alien & Sedition Laws, found me at this place—deeply engaged in business.

You ask my opinion of these Laws, professing to place confidence in my judgment, for the compliment of which I thank you. But to give opinions unsupported by reasons might appear dogmatical;—especially as you have declared that Gracchus has produced “the rough conviction in your mind of the unconstitutionality and inexpediency of the Acts above mentioned.”—To go into an explanation on these points I have neither leisure nor inclination; because it would occupy more time than I have to spare.

But I will take the liberty of advising such as are not “thoroughly convinced” and whose minds are yet open to conviction to read the pieces and hear the arguments which have been adduced in favor of, as well as those against the constitutionality and expediency of those Laws before they decide.—And consider to what lengths a certain description of men in our Country have already driven and even resolved to further drive matters; and then ask themselves if it is not time & expedient to resort to protecting Laws against Aliens (for citizens you certainly know are not affected by these Laws) who acknowledge *no allegiance* to this country, and in many instances are sent among us (as there is the best circumstantial evidence) for the *express purpose* of poisoning the minds of our people, and to sow [*sic*] dissensions among them in order to alienate *their* affections from the Government of their choice, thereby endeavoring to dissolve the Union; and of course the fair and happy prospects which were unfolding to our view from the Revolution. But as I have observed before I have no time to enter the field of Politicks; and therefore shall only add my best respects to the good family at New Port—and the assurances of being,

D^r Sir, Your Very Hbl^e Servant,
G^o Washington

To M^r Alexander Spotswood.

DEATH OF WASHINGTON

Colonel Benj. Tallmadge to Rev. Manasseh Cutler.

[*Editor Magazine of American History:* I enclose a hitherto unpublished letter from Col. Benj. Tallmadge to Rev. Manasseh Cutler, which you will perhaps find of sufficient interest to publish in the Magazine of American History. E. C. DAWES.]

Litchfield Jan. 11. 1800.

Dear Sir,

I have now before me your letter of the 23^d ultimo for which I thank you. It is really pleasing to find that people begin to open their eyes to their true interest in the Ohio Company. I have not yet conversed with one person in this State, who appears unfriendly to the plan of opening an Office at Marietta for the Sale of our lands. I have had no letters from R. Island on the subject, but have been informed that they are pursuing similar measures to ours. I have warned a meeting of the Proprietors in this state, to assemble at Hartford on the 29th of this month. I hope and expect a general attendance will be given. I have Gen. Putnam's advice, &c, and by the help of your form of a power of Att^y, and the Instructions, I hope we shall have the business greatly facilitated.

Our Country seems to be clad in *real mourning* for the loss of our great Benefactor, Patriot and Friend, the illustrious Washington. I can truly say that the loss of my own Father did not so sensibly affect me as has the death of this peerless Man. While he lived, I was fully satisfied that his equal was not on Earth, and since he has died, the public testimony to his worth, has exceeded even the most sanguine expectation. Altho' from a long and tolerably intimate acquaintance with him, I have been abundantly convinced of his attachment to the *Christian System*; yet had he been explicit in his profession of *faith in and dependence on* the finished *Atonement* of our glorious Redeemer for acceptance and pardon, what a conspicuous trait would it have formed in his illustrious character. In removing such high and elevated Personages, from the stage of action, how astonishingly great and glorious does the divine Character appear. Let poor groveling mortals quarrel as they please, his undisturbed Government and purposes roll on, and his whole Counsel shall stand. How perfectly becoming is it for us, and all created intelligences, to be silent and adore; and may God grant us grace to acknowledge him in all his Dispensations, and devoutly to adore his all-wise and superintending Providence.

I am, D^r Sir, sincerely,
& affectionately Yours,
Benj^a Tallmadge.

Rev. M. Cutler.

ONE MORE UNPUBLISHED WASHINGTON LETTER

[Contributed by George W. Van Siclen, Secretary of the Holland Society.]

[*Editor Magazine of American History:* At the annual dinner of the Holland Society of New York at the Hotel Brunswick, January 10, 1888, among other interesting relics exhibited was the following autograph letter of George Washington, never before published, which may be of interest in view of the "Washington number" of the magazine which has just appeared. It belongs to Seymour Van Santvoord, Esq., of Troy, New York, a member of the Society. Enclosed is a copy *verbatim et literatim*. GEORGE W. VAN SICLEN.]

To the Minister Elders and Deacons of the Reformed Prodistant Dutch Church of the Town of Schenectady.

Gentlemen :

I sincerely thank you for your Comgratulations on my arrival in this place

Whilst I join you in adoring that supreem being to whome alone can be attributed the signal successes of our Arms I can not but Express gratitude to you Gentlemen for so distinguished a testimony of your Regard

May the same providence that has hitherto in so Remarkable a manner Evincd the Justice of our Cause lead us to a speady and honourable peace and may I'ts attendant blessings soon Restore this our Florishing place to its former prosperity

Schenectady

G^d Washington

June 30th 1782.

VOL. XIX.—No. 3.—18

NOTES

A YANKEE CHOWDER—The following interesting article appeared in *The Weekly Magazine*, printed at Philadelphia, August 18, 1798. It is a valuable addition to the history of chowder, so ably discussed in the *Magazine of American History* for 1884 [Vol. XI.]: "Newbury-Port is about three miles from the sea. The inhabitants cheerfully devote a day to the entertainment of strangers, and this complaisance was experienced by our company.

We were invited to sail down the Merrimack river to the Black Rocks. Here we landed some of our company, who preferred the sport of the meadows, while we proceeded in quest of fish. Though the time of tide was unfavourable, we caught a sufficient quantity of flounder, cod, and other fish, of which there is a great variety in this river. The two former, however, were preferred by the connoisseurs. About noon we landed; and being joined by the gunners, formed a party of about fifteen persons. None were idle: all were cooks. While some were employed in cleaning the fish, others were busied in peeling onions; till at length a large pot of victuals was prepared. They called it *Chouder*.

I have no fondness for culinary researches: yet as this process was somewhat singular, it may not be improper to describe it.

Chouder may be made of any good fish; but the ingredients of *our* mess were as follow:

1. A few slices of the fattest pork,
2. A layer of flounders,

3. Ditto of onions,
4. Ditto of cod-fish,
5. Ditto of biscuit.

Then came the pork again, and the other articles in succession, till the pot was filled to the brim. Pepper, salt, and other seasoning, were liberally used. Being hung over the fire, without any water, for half an hour, it was then taken off the oar, from which it had been suspended, and which rested upon two jagged points of the rocks.

We now formed a circle, and attended to the ceremony of saying grace, which is religiously adhered to in New England. The chouder was then put into large white shells, which we found on the beach, and we began to eat it with smaller shells, fastened to pieces of split shingle. These natural utensils answered every purpose of dishes and spoons. Our seats were the rocks.

The breezes from the salt water, the exercise of the morning, and the length of time since breakfast, enabled us to do ample justice to chouder. Whether it was owing to an extraordinary appetite, or some peculiar excellence in our cheer, I shall not pretend to determine; but never did I taste anything so grateful to the palate. The best of liquors were added to the repast, and our pleasures were heightened by the agreeableness of our company." MINTO

WALKING ON THE WATER—From the *Maryland Gazette* of 1746, the following extract has been contributed by Mr. W. F. Fishop, of LaGrange, Illinois: "On Saturday, May 26, 1746, two men of

repute, fishing off Kent Island, about four o'clock in the afternoon, the weather clear and calm, they saw, to their great surprise, at a small distance, a man about five feet high, walking by them on the water, as if on dry ground. He crossed over from Kent Island to Talbot county, about the distance of four miles."

THE DEATH PENALTY IN 1746—In the *Maryland Gazette* of May 20, 1746, appears the following: "We are informed that on Friday last, Hector Grant, James Horney, and Esther Anderson, white servants, were executed at Chester, Kent county, pursuant to their sentence for the murder of their late master. The men were *hanged*, and the woman *burned*."

EXHIBITION OF HISTORIC PORTRAITS IN MONTREAL—An important Exhibition of Historic Portraits and allied objects was opened by the Numismatic and Antiquarian Society of Montreal, on the 15th of December last, continuing three weeks. Among the portraits were original paintings of Wolfe, Hertel de Rouville (of the Deerfield incursion), the Intendant Talon, Père Joques, the martyr of the Iroquois country, Charlevoix, Lafitau, and other historians, Le Moyne d'Iberville, the founder of New Orleans, and many others of similar importance. Historical students will be interested to know that a catalogue showing the owners of these was prepared at some length and can be obtained from the Society. The Exhibition contained, besides portraits, objects such as silver cups which belonged to Montcalm, many crosses of chevaliers of St. Louis, ancient

dress, service and funeral swords, miniatures, etc. The portraits were some of great age and frequently of great interest as representing 16th and 17th century art. Strangely, a similar exhibition was independently projected and carried out at the same time by the Philadelphia Academy of Fine Arts. The two exhibitions seem to have been the first of their kind in America.

WERTMULLER'S PORTRAIT OF WASHINGTON—The effects of Adolphus Ulrich Wertmuller, the artist to whom Washington sat for his portrait, were sold at auction May 12th, 1812, at Philadelphia. Among the paintings No. 10 is described as "Gen. Washington, head size, painted from Person." "No. 54, Gen. Washington, from person; small oval, 6 inches by 5 $\frac{1}{4}$, in 1794." Among the professional articles offered was "No. 7, A Straining Frame with prepared canvas for full size of Gen. Washington." W. K.

HENRY WARD BEECHER'S ESTIMATE OF GEORGE WASHINGTON—"And their works do follow them," was Mr. Beecher's text. Of Washington he said:

"Certainly his works follow him. A great man; not great in intellectual endowment; not by any remarkable genius in any direction, but that of sound judgment and discretion; but a man untainted by personal ambition. He kept himself by the power of God pure in patriotism, large in statesmanship, amidst the squabbling influences of a tempestuous time; a man devoted to the best interests of the nation that was born under his care. Patient, untiring, hope-

ful in the darkest hour; a sublime courage both on the field of battle and in the hour of misfortune and adversity, irreproachable in personal morals, wise in all things pertaining to public affairs, he collected about him counsellors who in their several spheres were wiser than he, and gathered from them the whole wisdom of the time in affairs of State. No man is a wise ruler who does not gather about him the wisest counsellors, and his name, while it will be preserved by the peculiar relations in which he stands to this nascent republic, is written in history, reappearing in counties and towns. Yet it is not so much his name as that his works do follow him. We have no Napoleon, no ambitious Cæsar, no Romulus or Remus to whom we can turn back with pride, but we have a man with the sympathies of a man, near to us, wise, patient, courageous, pure, large hearted and devoted to the interests of the commonwealth. It is well for young men of this day to ponder these things. The curse of our public men has been that they had no faith in the saving power of rectitude and goodness. Many and many a man of gigantic power has fallen because he sold himself to the

selfish influence of the hour, and did not dare to trust himself to rectitude; did not dare to be called a Radical; did not dare to face an inflamed and ignorant populace and to insist upon it that nothing is for the public good that is not founded upon truth, justice and rectitude. To-day how are men fallen in the Senate of the United States—they cannot fall in the House of Representatives. How are men whom we have a right to admire—around about whom, whether on one side or the other, we have been glad to twine laurels—how have they, against their better judgment, against the better instincts of their natures, bowed down to the outcry of a furious mob that gives expression only to its prejudices. Daniel Webster would have been President of the United States easily and illustriously if Daniel Webster had believed that rectitude always is safety; but he quivered before the face of the Moloch in the South, fell and never rose. And that public man that in the councils of his nation now acts according to the principles of rectitude and takes good or ill as they come—his works will follow him and he will be honored in the time to come."

QUERIES

THE MOUND BUILDERS—Who were they, and where and how did they live? Is there any truth in the story that they were the veritable Icelandic adventurers of remote antiquity, who are said to have discovered America in 1000? S. S. S.

LORD—Thomas Lord, and Dorothy his wife, came to New England in the *Elizabeth and Ann*, in 1635, and settled

in Hartford, Connecticut, with their children. In her will in 1669, Mrs. Lord bequeathed a large amount of property for the period, and, with other bequests, she gave to her daughter Ann, wife of Mr. Thomas Stanton of Stonington, her Bible, and a piece of silver, a "can" or a bowl. (The writer has not the full copy of the will by her.) Is either the Bible or the silver article still

in existence? If so, where? Mrs. Lord used (evidently) her husband's seal in sealing her will. The wax still bears the impression of the arms of the "La-ward *alias* Lord" family. In what part of England was the seat of that family? Is anything known of the ancestry of Thomas Lord, or Dorothy, his wife?

LAY—John Lay of England is first heard of in Saybrook, Connecticut, in 1648. He afterward removed to Lyme. He left in England a son, John, who

followed him to this country, some years afterward. Meantime the father had married a second time, and had a son, whom he called John also. The three Johns lived in Lyme, as did afterward some of their descendants. But most of the later generations removed to other places. Information concerning the ancestry and descendants of John Lay is desired for a book of family pedigrees and histories.

MRS. EDWARD E. SALISBURY
NEW HAVEN, CONNECTICUT.

REPLIES

DANIEL WEBSTER [xviii, 443, 541; xix, 84]—When Webster dropped into poetry on the occasion of his response to a serenade at Washington on the evening of June 22, 1852, he misremembered the passage which he quoted. The passage is the opening stanza of a poem by Sir Henry Walton, addressed to the Queen of Bohemia, and is as follows:

"You meaner beauties of the night,
That poorly satisfy our eyes,
More by your number than your light,
You common people of the skies,
What are you when the moon shall rise?"

A comparison of the above with Webster's speech will show how much he confused the passage which he quoted or attempted to quote. (It may be added that some versions of the poem have the following variations from the text given above: in the first line, "Ye" for "You;" in the second, "Which" for "That" and "men's" for "our;" in the third, "with" for "by;" in the fourth, "Like" for "You;" and in the fifth, "Where" for "What" and "sun" for "moon.")

C. W. LEWIS

BOSTON, MASS.

THE CODDINGTONS AND BRINLEYS [xvii, 364]—*Editor Magazine of American History*: I note the following in "Colonel Chester's London Marriage Licenses," because it serves to illustrate the history of the Coddingtons and Brinleys, to whom you referred in your article on "Shelter Island:" "William Coddington, Esqr of the Isle of Rhodes, beyond seas, Widower, about 40, and Anne Brindley about 24, daughter of Thomas Brindley, Esqr. of Eaton, Co Bucks, alleged by John Mayer, of St Bennet, Paul's Wharf, London, gent.—at Datchett, Co Bucks, 12 Jan. 1648. F." The letter "F" indicates the source from which the item comes, viz.: Faculty Office of the Archbishop of Canterbury. J. M. R.
PARIS, FRANCE, *January 7, 1888.*

HERALDRY [xix, 173]—About the end of the thirteenth century, in the reign of Henry III., figurative marks of distinction assigned to individuals by certain courts first acquired a systemized form in England. The wrongful assumption of arms was punishable by law.

TOWNSHEND.

SOCIETIES

NEW YORK HISTORICAL SOCIETY—At a stated meeting of the society held on the evening of Tuesday, the 7th inst., the Hon. John A. King presiding, the committee on subscriptions for the Building Fund announced gratifying progress. The report of the librarian enumerating the donors to the collections during the past month, showed an addition of 148 volumes to the library, and of 6 oil paintings designated by the late Cephas G. Thompson as a gift to the gallery. The paper of the evening, read by the Rev. Philip Schaff, D.D., entitled, "The history of the amendment to the Constitution concerning Religious Liberty," was a most able study of the European idea of toleration, contrasted with the American principle of freedom of religious thought and worship.

Mr. Edward F. de Lancey offered a preamble and resolutions calling attention to the approaching Centennial of the adoption of the federal Constitution by the state convention, and urging that a memorial from the society be presented to governor and legislature, requesting that the event be suitably commemorated at Poughkeepsie, on the 26th of July next. The resolutions were adopted. John Wilmarth, Lawrence Voorhies Cortelyou, and Egbert Benson were elected members of the society.

CHICAGO HISTORICAL SOCIETY—At the annual meeting of this society November 16, 1887, Edward G. Mason was elected president, in place of E. B. Washburne, deceased. And on December 6

John Moses was elected secretary and librarian, in place of A. D. Hager, resigned.

The regular quarterly meeting of the society was held Tuesday, January 17, 1888, President Edward G. Mason in the chair. The minutes of the annual meeting of November 16 and December 6, 1887, were read and approved.

Donations of the published works of Rev. Dr. John M. Mason, containing his celebrated interview with Alexander Hamilton after his duel with Aaron Burr; and of a three-dollar bill of the "Wisconsin Marine and Fire Insurance Company," signed by "Alexander Mitchell, Secretary," and "George Smith, President," and endorsed by "Strachan & Scott," were received from Joseph O. Rutter, Esq., and were duly acknowledged. The report of the secretary and librarian was read, showing additions to the library of 67 bound volumes and 157 pamphlets. The Executive Committee reported that it had caused the society building to be renovated, and procured insurance to the amount of ten thousand dollars upon the books, paintings, and collections of the society. It has presented the aims and objects of the society to a number of citizens, and has been authorized to submit to your committee on nominations the names of thirty-one new candidates for membership. They have also obtained from several old members, who had practically retired from the society, a renewal of their connection with it. So that it is not too much to say that since the annual meeting the number of active members of the society has been increased one-half. It has gathered to-

gether and arranged from the society's files a sufficient number of papers and documents to constitute a new volume of the society's collections. It has under very careful consideration the subject of a new society building, and expects to present at the next quarterly meeting a well-matured plan in reference to it and a sufficient subscription to justify the commencement of its construction.

THE NEW JERSEY HISTORICAL SOCIETY held its annual meeting January 24, 1888, at Trenton, which was opened with some remarks by the Rev. Dr. Hamill, its president, briefly reviewing the work of the society since it was organized in 1845. Of the original officers, the only survivor is the Hon. Joseph P. Bradley, the first recording secretary, and now justice of the Supreme Court of the United States. The paper of the day was by A. D. Mellick, Jr., of Plainfield, entitled "The Hessians in New Jersey—just a little in their favor." He quoted largely from contemporary writers, to show that the officers of the German regiment were gentlemen, and inferred that the men were simply harmless, good-natured German peasants. Gen. James F. Rusling, of Trenton, took the ground that Mr. Mellick's own paper showed that the Hessians massacred in cold blood the Americans at the battle of Long Island, that they were deserters, and that they reluctantly came to America at all. He said it was either too early or too late to attempt to reverse the verdict of our forefathers, and it was still evident, from the best that could be said in their favor, that they were bloodthirsty, dishonorable, and largely the riff-

raff of the petty German provinces. Officers of the society were elected for the ensuing year as follows: president, Rev. Samuel M. Hamill, D.D.; vice-presidents, John T. Nixon, Hon. John Clement, Dr. Samuel H. Pennington; corresponding secretary, Dr. Stephen Wickes, of Orange; recording secretary, William Nelson, of Paterson; treasurer and librarian, F. W. Ricord, Newark; executive committee, George A. Halsey, Rev. George S. Mott, D.D., John F. Hageman, David A. Depue, Nathaniel Niles, John I. Blair, Gen. William S. Stryker, Franklin Murphy and Robert F. Ballantine. Plans were exhibited of the new building which it is proposed to erect at Newark for the society's use, at a cost of \$25,000, and a very general desire was manifested to see it completed. A resolution was adopted expressing sympathy with the people of Greengarden, Pennsylvania, in their efforts to get that third e restored to the name of the place, in honor of Gen. Greene, although Mr. Nelson thought it would be well to wait until the New Jersey legislature would restore the name of the Kill Van Kull, now called Kill *Von* Kull, and Pinhome, near Snake Hill, now called Penn Horn, which should properly perpetuate the name of William Pinhome, justice of the Supreme Court of New Jersey two hundred years ago, and for many years prominent in the councils of both New Jersey and New York. The next meeting of the society will be held at Newark in May.

THE WISCONSIN HISTORICAL SOCIETY held its thirty-fifth annual meeting on the 6th of January, at Madison, Wiscon-

sin, and in the absence of President John A. Rice, Vice-President Simeon Mills occupied the chair.

Secretary Thwaites presented his annual report, showing that the society is enjoying great prosperity in the several branches of its useful and honorable work.

The library additions for the year have been 2,787 volumes and 1,996 pamphlets, a total of 4,783 books and pamphlets, against an average of 4,622 per annum for the past decade. The present strength of the library is 60,722 volumes and 62,727 pamphlets—a grand total of 123,449.

The report gives the details of various mechanical improvements which have recently been made in the library,—in which greatly increased shelving capacity is included,—and numerous conveniences that have been introduced for the benefit of general readers and special investigators. It is announced that Vol. VII. of the catalogue is in the hands of the binders; that Vol. X. of the Wisconsin Historical Collections will soon be issued from the press, and Vol. XI. may be expected in May next; that a special catalogue of literature bearing on the late American civil war was published in the course of the year, and that other special class lists will follow this; and that a revised biographical catalogue of the art gallery, which now contains 147 oil and crayon portraits, is in course of preparation.

The antiquarian fund, established only a year ago, has reached the sum of \$450.35. The secretary makes a vigorous appeal for donations to this eminently useful fund, the income from which

is to be devoted to the procuring of Wisconsin antiquities, manuscripts, or other objects of historic interest, and historical investigations within the state.

Professor James D. Butler delivered an able and scholarly address on "Alexander Mitchell as a Financier," of whom he said: "It was near the first summer days of 1839 that Alexander Mitchell came to Milwaukee as the secretary of a so-called insurance company—but in reality a bank. The founder of this company was George Smith, a Scotch farmer who came to America in 1834, to purchase lands, but soon turned his attention to banking. Starting originally in Chicago—calling his establishment an insurance company in order to avoid the odium in those days attaching to the name 'bank,' Smith finally thought Milwaukee a fresher field for his enterprise. Daniel Wells, a Milwaukee friend of Smith, secured from the first territorial legislature of Wisconsin, in the winter of 1838-9, not without strong opposition, a charter for an insurance company with banking privileges. This charter was signed by the governor on the last of February, 1839, and early in May stock was subscribed in Milwaukee to the extent of \$101,300—Smith subscribing \$100,000 and Wells and five others the balance. It was voted that \$1,100 per year be given as salary to the secretary of this company."

NEW YORK GENEALOGICAL AND BIOGRAPHICAL SOCIETY—At the annual meeting of this society, held at its hall on Friday evening, January 13, the following officers were elected: president, General James Grant Wilson; vice-

president, Dr. Ellsworth Eliot, and second vice-president, Dr. Samuel S. Purple; publication committee of the society's quarterly, the *Record*, General James Grant Wilson, Rev. Beverly R. Betts, Edward F. de Lancey, Dr. Samuel S. Purple and Thomas G. Evans. The annual address was delivered by General Wilson, whose subject was "Memorials of Columbus," in which the speaker described the many interesting memorials of "the world-seeking Genoese" which he saw in Spain and Italy. General Wilson read an extract from a letter recently received by him from the descendant of Columbus, the Duke of Veraguas, in which he says: "The best portrait of Columbus is the one you saw in the National Gallery of Spain, and the best statue the one by Sùñal, recently erected in Madrid. . . . I do not think any of the historians or writers have been successful in their attempts to deprive Genoa of the honor of being the birthplace of Columbus, or taking from Havana the glory of possessing his ashes."

At a meeting of this society, January 27, a paper was read by Miss Marie A. Brown, on "Scandinavia." Miss Brown was one of the leaders in the movement at Boston which resulted in the erection of a monument to the memory of Leif Ericsson, the Scandinavian, who, it is claimed, discovered America in the eleventh century. She is on her way to Washington to present a petition to Congress to postpone the contemplated celebration of the four hundredth anniversary of the discovery by Columbus until some newly discovered facts concerning Ericsson's discovery are laid before the country.

Cornelius Vanderbilt, chairman of the building committee, read the report recommending the removal of the society to more commodious quarters in Forty-fourth Street, near Fifth Avenue, which was adopted by the trustees.

THE RHODE ISLAND HISTORICAL SOCIETY held its sixty-sixth annual meeting on the 10th of January, President Gammell in the chair. Reports were read, and President Gammell read his annual address which was one of great interest.

Officers for the ensuing year were elected as follows: president, William Gammell; vice-presidents, Dr. Charles W. Parsons, Elisha B. Andrews; secretary, Amos Perry; treasurer, Richmond P. Everitt.

The society held its regular meeting on the 26th of January, when a paper was read by Levi W. Russell, principal of the Bridgham Grammar School, on "Forestry, with Special Reference to Rhode Island." He began by calling attention to the fact that the people of the world hold the ground upon which they live only by a joint occupancy with trees; that trees and civilization exist together. Whoever works for a proper proportion of forest ground in a civilized country works for the permanent prosperity of that country. The total deforestation of a country means its desolation. It is not wise to be unheeding of the calamities resulting from the deforestation of nations whose history lies before us. Many direful lessons come to us from countries of the Old World and from many islands of the sea.

HISTORICAL AND SOCIAL JOTTINGS

An interesting glimpse of Philadelphia in 1787, at the time the convention was in session that framed the Constitution, is given in the recently published *Life of Rev. Manasseh Cutler*. He relates in his journal that he made a very early morning call on the Honorable Elbridge Gerry, and remained to breakfast. He writes: "Few old bachelors, I believe, have been more fortunate in matrimony than Mr. Gerry. His lady is young, very handsome, and exceedingly amiable. Mr. Gerry has hired a house, and lives in a family state. I was surprised to find how early ladies in Philadelphia can rise in the morning, and to see them at breakfast at half after five, when in Boston they can hardly see a breakfast table at nine without falling into hysterics. I observed to Mrs. Gerry that it seemed to be an early hour for ladies to breakfast. She said she always rose early, and found it conducive to her health. She was inured to it from her childhood in New York, and that it was the practice of the best families in Philadelphia."

Mr. Cutler says of his visit to Dr. Franklin: "There was no curiosity in Philadelphia which I felt so anxious to see as this great man, who had been the wonder of Europe as well as the glory of America. When I entered his house I felt as if I was going to be introduced to the presence of an European monarch. But how were my ideas changed when I saw a short, fat, trunched old man, in a plain Quaker dress, bald pate, and short white locks, sitting without his hat under a tree (in the garden) and, as Mr. Gerry introduced me, rose from his chair, took me by the hand, expressed his joy to see me, welcomed me to the city, and begged me to seat myself close to him. His voice was low, but his countenance frank and pleasing. He instantly reminded me of old Captain Cummings, for he is nearly of his pitch, and no more of the air of superiority about him."

It is a healthful sign when a whole generation of men and women are being awakened to the fact that it is a good thing to know something about the nature and operation of the government under which they live. America is just now in this awakening process. We are aware that daylight is seen in the morning hours long before the sun appears above the horizon. Thus we are encouraged to believe that the country will be entirely roused from its long nap during the year 1888, and ready when the day arrives for active commemoration of the grandest and most momentous event in its history—Washington's inauguration as its first President. A common impulse should animate every citizen from the Atlantic to the Pacific, and the thrilling event be signalized by universal rejoicing. Meanwhile a celebration in which great historic interest centres will take place in Marietta, Ohio, on the 7th of April next—the landing of the first settlers at the mouth of the Muskingum river—which has truly been said to have had its parallel only in the landing of the Pilgrims at Plymouth in 1620.

The American Historical Association has appointed the following delegates to attend the 7th of April celebration at Marietta, Ohio: Ex-President Rutherford B. Hayes, Rev. Al-

fred P. Putnam, D.D., Dr. William F. Poole, president of the Association, Professor Herbert B. Adams, secretary, Clarence C. Bowen, treasurer of the Association, and Professor George W. Knight, of Columbus, Ohio.

What Mr. Beecher said about government in one of his patriotic sermons in 1862, recently gathered into a beautiful volume by John R. Howard, is worth remembering: "Civil governments are said to be of God. All government is ordained of God: and civil governments also, not as by revelation and ordination, but because the nature of man necessitates government. God did not create man, and then command a government over him, but he created man with a necessity and instinct of government, and left that instinct and necessity to develop themselves. God made men to need clothes, but he never cut out a pattern for them to make their clothes by. He left them to choose their own raiment. God made appetite, but he never made a bill of fare. He left men to pick out their own food. God made man's necessity for government, and then let him alone, and that necessity for government wrought out civil governments."

The first great domain to which the United States secured undisputed title was the region between Pennsylvania and the Mississippi river, extending from the great lakes to the Ohio river, and this was placed under one territorial government by the Ordinance of 1787. The British had considered it "the paradise of America," and yielded it reluctantly; while France and Spain had meddled with covetous intent. Then came up a domestic question of ownership, viz., did this vast region belong to the nation in common, or was it the property of one or more of the individual states? Four states claimed it in whole or in part—New York, Virginia, Massachusetts, and Connecticut. Professor Israel W. Andrews, ex-president of Marietta College, says: "The four states in the end gave up their claims, New York leading the way, and Virginia following. Two of them, New York and Massachusetts, made their cessions without a qualification or reservation, while Virginia and Connecticut made important reservations." The course of New York in this connection is ably presented in another part of this magazine by Mr. Douglas Campbell.

All the world knows that Maria Mitchell was appointed the first professor of astronomy in Vassar College when it was opened in 1865. But our readers were not all present at the brilliant reception given in her honor at the Hotel Brunswick in New York city, by the Alumnae Association of Vassar on the 4th of February last. Much to the disappointment of the Vassar graduates and their guests, Miss Mitchell was too ill to be present. Mrs. Wood, president of the New York Alumnae Association, paid an eloquent tribute, however, to the absent astronomer. She said: "As many times as Miss Mitchell went over the ground in astronomy, she never failed to study each day's lesson with each year's class. Her students could regularly count on having an easy and short lesson the day after faculty meetings. Attendance at these meetings she used to consider the biggest bore of all her college duties. She would say, 'I'll give you only a little to do for to-morrow, for I must go to faculty to-day, and I'll be too weary to prepare a long lesson myself.' In the early days of the college these meetings had more of a religious character than at present. They were usually opened with prayers and some passage from the Bible. Professor Mitchell would always manage to get late for this part of the programme, and when the president requested her presence, she made future reference to the matter impossible by the remark that she was 'unable to pray to order.'"

Referring to the personal history of Miss Mitchell, Mrs. Wood said: "She went to school at Nantucket. When eighteen she became librarian of the Nantucket Athenæum. For twenty years she kept the place, and now she says that in those times she laid the foundation of her attainments in astronomy and mathematics. Her duties as librarian were few, and she used the opportunity to solve the problems of space. Not until the stars had lost their twinkle in the early dawn did she for night after night leave her telescope to go to sleep. In 1847 came the discovery of the comet, which introduced the young astronomer to the older astronomers of the world. For the finding of that wanderer the King of Denmark gave her a gold medal. To this, most people think, her reputation is due. But she says: 'No. If any credit is due it is for the mathematical success of working out its orbit. This was difficult, and took a long time to accomplish.' There are seven other comets which she has found, being in advance of other watchers in some cases by a few days, in others by only a few hours. Soon after 1847 Miss Mitchell went to Europe, gazed through the great telescopes, was fêted by the wise men, and was a guest in England of Sir John Herschel and Sir George Airy, then Astronomer Royal at Greenwich. After her return, and when Vassar was founded, she became its Professor of Astronomy. That she might study the heavens she did not marry. And her friends think that in any sphere she would have gone to the front as a woman remarkable in every way. Three institutions have given her the degree of LL.D., Columbia the latest."

Speaking of Miss Mitchell's appearance, dress, and character, Mrs. Wood remarked: "Time has touched her face with many softening lines. The features are still irregular and unclassic, but a pure life, high thoughts, and noble purpose, have written in eloquent language the evidence of a great nature. She dresses in the quiet Quaker garb, is like and unlike a Friend. Her character is not well rounded. It has square and some sharp corners. In the common meaning of the word, Maria Mitchell was not popular at Vassar. Her rooms were not crowded with students. She was not of that group of teachers who gave the college girls a taste of home, and who entered freely into close friendship with them. But they revered her with that awe which women have for one of their own kind far above them. Even though her classes always did themselves credit, she would not allow visitors unless she herself invited them. Once recently President Taylor was quite nonplussed when, as he entered her class room in company with a distinguished college guest, she said: 'Now, girls, I hate company, and I know you don't want to show off. So you may be dismissed.'"

The following anecdote illustrates itself: "Once when Maria Mitchell was in the cars between Boston and New York, the newsboy in the train eyed her with evident interest. As a result of his inspection the little fellow offered her none of the trashy literature he distributed to the other travelers, but presently, with an air of decision, brought her one of Mrs. Stowe's works. When she shook her head, he said: 'Scuse me, but ain't you Mrs. Stowe?' Not to be baffled by her refusal to accept the name he tried to fit to her face, he presently returned to the attack, saying: 'Then perhaps you're Mrs. Stanton?' Receiving a second negative, he added respectfully: 'Would you mind tellin' me who you are, m'am?' It is not probable that the name, Maria Mitchell, gave the persistent boy any very definite enlightenment, but he exclaimed triumphantly: 'I knew you was somebody.'"

BOOK NOTICES

MANUAL OF THE CONSTITUTION OF THE UNITED STATES. By ISRAEL WARD ANDREWS, D.D., LL.D. 12mo, pp. 348. Cincinnati and New York, 1887. Van Antwerp, Bragg & Co.

The name of the author of this volume, the eminent and scholarly ex-President of Marietta College, is a sufficient guarantee that the work is thoroughly well done. The studies which it embodies have grown out of the necessities of the class-room. Dr. Andrews' primary object in its preparation was to provide a suitable text-book, but through his deep interest in the subject, and the mass of material accumulated in his laborious researches for answers to the multitudinous questions arising on the important subject of civil government, he extended his investigations, and the result is before us in a manual admirably adapted for consultation and reference by the general public. The use of small type for a portion of the text brings the work within the reach of classes in schools that have not time for the whole. Dr. Andrews claims, and very justly, that "a knowledge of the nature and operation of the government under which we live is necessary for the successful prosecution of the business of life, and to secure the happiness of ourselves and those dependent upon us." He defines the object, origin, and nature, as well as the different forms of civil government, and in clear, comprehensive English, points out the peculiarities of the government of the United States, which, he says, "is not a simple or consolidated republic on the one hand, nor on the other is it a league of the states. Many seem to suppose that there is no middle ground between these two; that the denial of the one is equivalent to the affirmation of the other." Dr. Andrews then goes on to show that "the nation has a Constitution in which the character of the government is clearly delineated," that this Constitution is the supreme law of the land; that the country is divided into divisions, called states, each of which has a constitution, confined in its operation to state limits, and that, unlike a simple republic, the national Constitution recognizes the existence of the states with their separate constitutions and their various departments, while the American people are a nation in the same sense and just as truly as the people of France.

We have never before to our knowledge had produced so clear an exposition of the great principles of the Constitution in concise and convenient form for reference, and not only instructors everywhere, but the intelligent public outside of schools and colleges will heartily welcome the appearance of this excellent work. Dr. Andrews voices the sentiment of right-minded

Americans, when he says that with correct understanding of governmental questions we "can better adapt ourselves to the circumstances in which we are placed and avoid the perplexities and difficulties in which one ignorant of the laws and institutions of our country is liable to be placed."

THE FISHERIES AND FISHERY INDUSTRIES OF THE UNITED STATES.

By G. BROWN GOODE, Assistant Secretary of the Smithsonian Institution, and a staff of associates. Section II. Quarto, pp. 787. Government Printing Office, Washington, D. C. 1887.

We have in this great volume an interesting geographical and statistical review of the fisheries of the United States and fishing communities for the year 1880. We here learn that the value of the fisheries of the sea, of the great rivers, and of the great lakes was for that year \$43,046,053, and that of those in minor inland waters was \$1,500,000, in all \$44,546,053. These values were estimated upon the basis of the prices of the products received by the producers, and if average wholesale prices had been considered, the value would have been much greater. The editor in his introduction says that the fisheries of New England are the most important, where the principal fishing ports, in order of importance, are: Gloucester, Portland, Boston, Provincetown, and New Bedford, the latter being the centre of the whale fishery. Next to the New England comes the South Atlantic States, then the Middle States, and the Pacific States and Territories. Forty-three distinct fisheries are recognized by American writers, each being carried on in a special locality and with methods peculiar to itself. The sponge fisheries of the United States are confined exclusively to the west coast of Florida, where it is said one hundred sail of vessels are engaged in the business, the value of the sponges taken out in 1880 amounting to \$200,750. This work is full of timely and valuable information, and it has been handled ably in its preparation.

FIRST STEPS IN ELECTRICITY. By CHARLES BARNARD. 16mo, pp. 133. New York, 1888. Charles E. Merrill & Co.

The aim of Mr. Barnard, to entertain and instruct young people, both at home and in school, is very apparent in this charming book on electricity, a subject about which every one is more or less curious. The success of Mr. Barnard in this class of writing is well known. His language is well chosen, clear and full of meaning,

all technical terms are eschewed unless fully explained, and the young mind grasps his reasoning, without bewilderment or weariness. He opens his little work by describing a thunderstorm, and calls attention to the play of electricity in a young girl's hair on a frosty morning; and the tiny flashes of light on the cat's back in a dusky room on a winter's night. He then goes on to describe a number of simple and inexpensive experiments in electricity that can be performed at home and in schools, none of which are difficult or dangerous if ordinary care is used. His idea seems to be to give the reader a general knowledge of the laws governing the manifestations of electricity in nature, and to show how this force is used in the arts, in business, and in manufactures. He describes magnetism, magnets, magnetic inductions, electric bells, and the telephone. Mr. Barnard has produced an excellent work, one which we can heartily commend to every school and household in the land.

LOCURINE, A TRAGEDY IN VERSE. By ALGERNON CHARLES SWINBURNE. 12mo, pp. 149. New York: Worthington Company, 1888.

A new poem by Mr. Swinburne is an event of such consequence in the literary world that the daily papers on this side of the Atlantic literally tumble over one another in their anxiety to be first in presenting it to an American public. Whether so much journalistic enterprise pays or not from a financial point of view, probably the "dear public" will never know, but to people who approach poetry in the right spirit, it would seem that such perusal as is accorded to the "last edition" of a daily must be very unsatisfactory. Personally we much prefer to wait for a comfortably bound volume and a leisure hour, before attempting to read anything so profound as let us say Browning or Swinburne.

The dedication in verse to Alice Swinburne, serves as an introduction, and we can do no better than to quote two of its stanzas:

A ninefold garland wrought of song-flowers nine.
Wound each with each in chance-in-woven accord,
Here at your feet I lay as on a shrine
Whereof the holiest love that lives is lord.
With faint, strange hues their leaves are freaked
and scored:
The fable-flowering land wherein they grew,
Hath dreams for stars, and gray romance for dew.

No part have these wan legends in the sun,
Whose glory lightens Greece and gleams on Rome,
Their elders live; but these—their day is done.
Their records, written of the wind in foam,
Fly down the wind, and darkness takes them home.
What Homer saw, what Virgil dreamed was truth,
And dies not, being divine; but whence in sooth,
Might shades that never lived win deathless youth?

This affectionate inscription to a sister to whom the poet is said to be especially attached is followed by a tragedy in the full meaning of

the word, but a tragedy related in lines that charm the ear and irresistibly stimulate the imagination. Upon the whole, the author's genius has never more conspicuously evinced its peculiar powers than in this its latest inspiration. Mr. Swinburne is probably now near the zenith of his powers. It seems hardly possible that near twenty years have passed since Atlanta in Calydon first electrified the English reading world, yet so it is, and with regularity unusual in a poet of his temperament he has from time to time given new evidence of his ability. He is still on the right side of middle life, and we may safely count upon other contributions to the archives of poesy, before his brilliant intellect begins to show signs of deterioration.

POEMS BY DAVID ATWOOD WASSON. 16mo, pp. 165. Boston: Lee & Shepard, 1888.

During his life the author of these poems made but little progress toward publishing them in a permanent shape, but in his will he left the task in able hands, with the present satisfactory result. Mr. Wasson's poems are familiar to all readers of American publications, and his many admirers will welcome this edition of the best examples of his muse. We understand that a life of Mr. Wasson is in preparation. When it appears it will find a suitable companion in this collection of poetry so appreciatively arranged and edited by one who signs merely the initials E. D. C.

PATRIOTIC ADDRESSES IN AMERICA AND ENGLAND, from 1850 to 1885, on Slavery, the Civil War, and the Development of Civil Liberty in the United States. By HENRY WARD BEECHER. Edited, with a review of Mr. Beecher's personality and influence in public affairs, by John R. Howard. 8vo, pp. 857. New York, 1887. Fords, Howard & Hulbert.

This elegant volume is something more and better than a biography. The first one hundred and fifty pages comprise a sketch of Mr. Beecher's life, enriched with personal reminiscences, anecdotes, and letters, written from the standpoint of a life-long and intimate friendship, by one who for twenty or more years was associated with the great preacher in the business relations of a publisher. Mr. Howard does not, however, in his introductory sketch attempt to chronicle details, while he gives a well-proportioned view of Mr. Beecher's whole career, styling it very modestly a "Review," and showing through his masterly touches the pure, unselfish springs of action,

and the steady consistency of Mr. Beecher's course. But this introduction is only one feature of the interesting work. The addresses of Mr. Beecher which it contains are the true gold of the mine. They constitute a glowing picture of the times that gave them birth. The history of the nation in its most critical period is lighted as with a blazing torch all through these stirring pages. In speaking of the public utterances of Mr. Beecher, Mr. Howard furnishes many items of great interest. He says: "The thought that arose in Mr. Beecher's mind, if not suppressed altogether, was apt to find instant and forceful expression. He was quite as likely to burst out into splendid eloquence amid a small group of chatting friends, or even to a single listener, as before a vast audience. He was moved by his own inner forces." In reply to an inquiry from Mr. Howard, on one occasion, as to the line of treatment he would take in a course of lectures he was about to deliver, Mr. Beecher replied: "I know what I am going to aim at, but of course I don't get down to anything specific. I brood it, and ponder it, and dream over it, and pick up information about one point and another, but if ever I think I see the plan opening up to me I don't dare to look at it or put it down on paper. If I once write a thing out, it is almost impossible for me to kindle up to it again. I never dare, nowadays, to write out a sermon during the week; that is sure to kill it. I have to think around and about it, get it generally ready, and then fuse it when the time comes."

Descriptions and biographies of Mr. Beecher are but partial side lights, however. Mr. Howard says truly, that "real knowledge of him can be had only from his own utterances, where the living flame of his genius burns imperishably." The patriotic addresses are divided into three classes: "Freedom and Slavery," produced before the war, "Civil War," produced during the war, and "Civil Liberty," produced at the close of the war. In the first division is the now famous article from the *Independent* of February 21, 1850: "Shall We Compromise?" the reading of which to John C. Calhoun on his death-bed elicited from him the response, "That man understands things; he has gone to the bottom of it. He will be heard from again." In the second division are the five great speeches in England that produced such an effect on the world's history. The third division contains the two famous "Cleveland letters," written in August and September, 1866, on reconstruction. The sermon that follows these on "National Unity" is one of remarkable power. In referring to the disturbing influences that are coming upon us through the great movement hither of immigrants from all parts of the world, Mr. Beecher said: "The mingling together of these strange materials

will give rise to quite enough of jarring and of activity; but we perceive still another element of discord in the conflict of social customs. Our Puritan fathers made channels, and Europe is furnishing the water that flows in them. We see that the landmarks are going. We see that under foreign influences our channels are becoming too narrow and too strait. We perceive laws overwhelmed, sacred ideas rudely overborne, and the venerable Lord's day given up to festive songs, to dances and to bibulous hilarity. Many are alarmed, and think that the end of the world hath come. Nay, not by some space yet!" In "Retrospect and Prospect," a sermon preached in Plymouth Church on Thanksgiving Day, 1884, Mr. Beecher said, in regard to the unity of the human race: "Mankind are capable, by reason of their common origin and substantial likeness, of interaffiliating and dwelling together—and in unity. That is the consummation of Christianity."

The illustrations in the volume are well-chosen. The frontispiece is a new steel engraving of Mr. Beecher at the age of forty-three, from a photograph. There is also a portrait of him at the age of sixty-five, and one at the age of seventy-three. The volume contains fifteen or more portraits of the eminent men of the anti-slavery and the civil war periods, including those of Horace Greeley, Charles Sumner, Daniel Webster, and President Lincoln.

THE ICELANDIC DISCOVERIES OF AMERICA; or, Honor to Whom Honor is Due. By MARIE A. BROWN. 12mo, pp. 208. London, 1887. Trübner & Co.

Miss Brown has written a very readable book in her effort to resurrect and bring into prominence the Viking period, and establish the fact that America was discovered by the Icelanders in 1001. In her opening paragraph she says: "We have all been taught that Columbus discovered America, and it is very hard to disabuse our minds of that idea," in which sentiment we agree with Miss Brown—we go further, even, and place upon permanent record our doubts of her making any perceptible progress in the direction of disabusing the American mind of that idea. We fail to see wherein it would benefit the human race to deprive Columbus of his crown. He seems to have earned it with uncommon industry. The heroic Norsemen five centuries before the time of Columbus were, we have always believed, well acquainted with the eastern coast of North America; yet Iceland was a dependent and neglected province of Denmark, without colonies or remains of settlements in North America, at the time it was visited by Columbus, who was in pursuit of nautical information, and unquestionably obtained what he could respecting the voyages and adventures of

the ancient Icelanders. How much that helped him is a conundrum. The fact is none the less true that he conceived one of the boldest designs in human history, and through original plans and persistent endeavor succeeded in its accomplishment. Where would have been our glorious country but for Columbus? Was it not as remote from the knowledge of the world of 1492 as if the Norseman had never seen it?

Miss Brown is an enthusiast in Norse history, and has spent many years in close, painstaking researches. It is a very picturesque and interesting period with which she deals. The sober historical narrative handed along through the ages by the Icelanders is worthy of our notice, even though their American discoveries led to no practical results. Miss Brown learns through her studies that "the Norsemen were truly a great people." She says: "Their spirit found its way into the Magna Charta of England and into the Declaration of Independence in America." She further says: "In the Norsemen one continually has the gratifying surprise of hearing of a race who, in all the main political and social questions, were right in themselves, without the need of reform and agitation. That the people in Scandinavia had a voice in public affairs, is best proven by the fact that the people of America and England are free, at least comparatively so, in a political aspect." This is a strong statement. She goes on to draw a romantic and delightful picture of the Norse discoveries, who "regarded the ocean as little more than a babbling brook, and had more vessels and crews than they knew what to do with. Like our fashionable Americans at the present day, the Norse travelers had been everywhere—almost—and pined for a new coast. So one day they found Greenland, and soon after chanced upon America. They came home and told the news, and then others went. . . . These Norse voyagers started off merrily, anticipating enjoyment. . . . Money, men, vessel, provisions, everything needful they had; the only thing they did not have was knowledge of the route, but that was not serious. They made as quick a voyage (to America) as if they had known the way." Miss Brown indulges in a train of energetic reflections and illustrations about the Romish Church; and she quotes liberally from what are considered authentic documents.

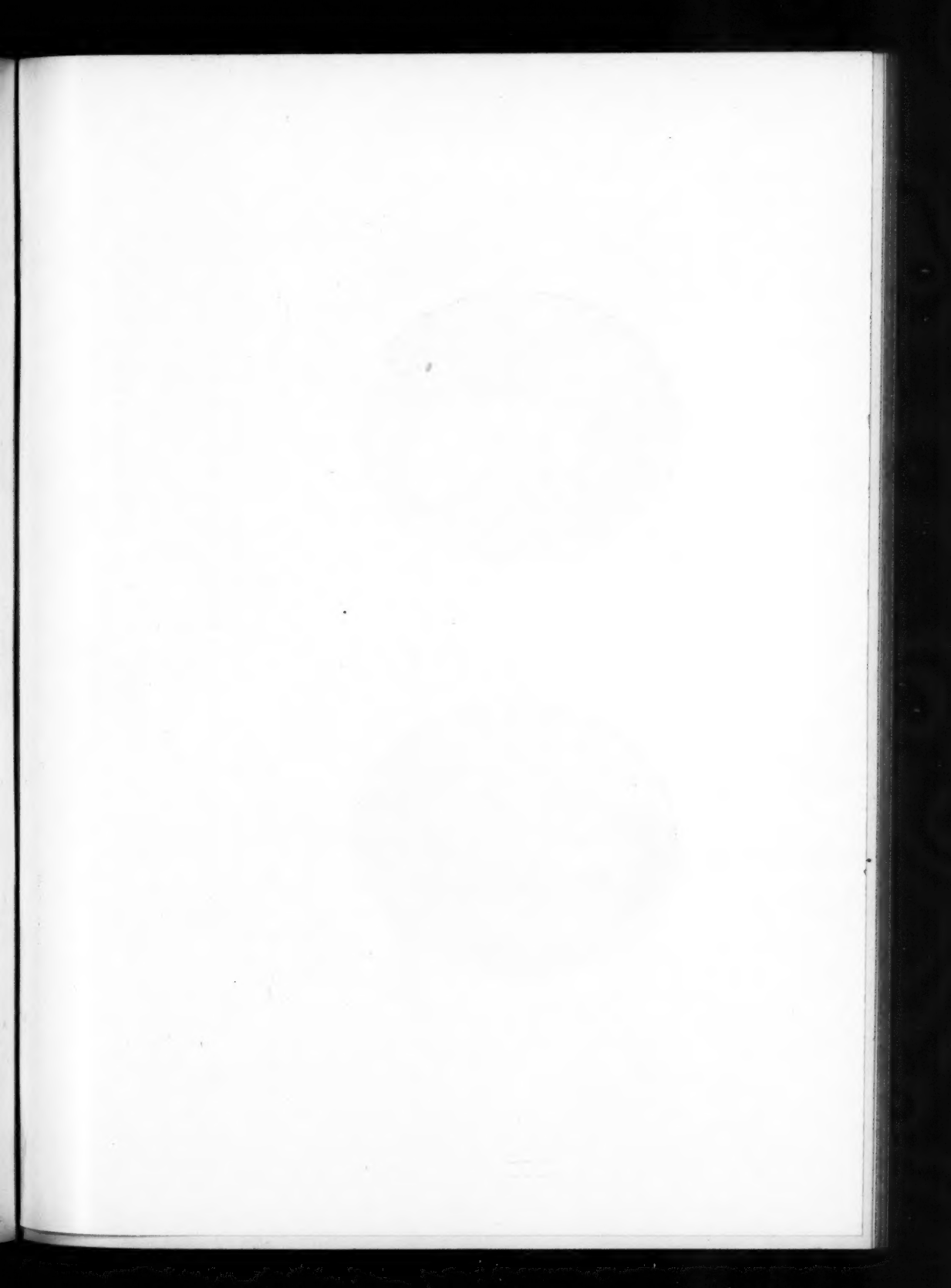
A HISTORY OF THE UNITED STATES FOR SCHOOLS. With maps, plans, illustrations, and questions. By ALEXANDER JOHNSTON, LL.D. 12mo, pp. 473. New York, 1887. Henry Holt & Company.

Among the numerous short histories of the United States prepared for the use of teachers and classes in our schools, the one before us is

destined to hold the highest place. Professor Johnston has taken a broader and more comprehensive view of the subject than any of his predecessors. He has written with a studied simplicity of language which is in itself high literary art, and has grouped the leading events in our history—exactly such as the pupil ought to know about—in the clear-cut and agreeable style which cannot fail to secure attention from those it is desired to benefit. He has not made a story-book. We cordially commend the good judgment and taste with which he has passed lightly over the Indian wars and adventures of the colonial period, that hitherto have occupied an inordinately large portion of our school histories, and given the essential facts relative to the formation of our national government, the growth of the states, the administrations of our presidents with the leading events in each, and the responsibilities of the American citizen to the present and future. The colonial period is here, for the first time in a work of this character, well-proportioned to our national history. Professor Johnston has not aimed to make either a story-book or a picture-book. He believes in maps as a legitimate embellishment, but he does not favor the idea that ordinary pictures serve to illustrate history. Usually it is the poor picture that is introduced into the school-book, and the child is misled in all his early notions of art.

Professor Johnston's work is comparatively free from errors, which cannot be said of many of those of his predecessors in the same field. There are however, one or two points in the book before us that should and will undoubtedly be corrected in the next edition. The school pupil should no longer be taught the old traditional fable that when Jacob Leisler had been convicted of treason, his "enemies made Governor Slaughter drunk, got his signature to the death warrant, and hanged Leisler before the governor became sober again." There is not a line in all history to support any such statement. The truthful records of the sad event show that the death warrant was signed on Thursday, and the execution did not take place until Saturday. Then again the death warrant was signed in the forenoon, and not until after it had been advised by the governor's council, and approved and the approval placed on record by the House of Representatives. That it was a great political blunder we all know. But the tradition handed along by the violent partisans of that heated period, through many generations, should never become accepted history and taught to our children. Professor Johnston's work is too good to be marred by this well-worn bit of fiction.

An excellent feature is a pronouncing index of thirty-two pages, and an appendix in which the Declaration of Independence, the Constitution of the United States, the formation of the States and growth of the cities, appear in full.





Edgar Allan Poe



Mrs. Chapman

FROM THE ORIGINAL MINIATURES BY ROBERTSON, ON IVORY, NEVER BEFORE ENGRAVED.

[In joint possession of the granddaughters of the artist, Mrs. Charles W. Darling and Mrs. S. M. Mygatt.]

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UNPUBLISHED WASHINGTON PORTRAITS

SOME OF THE EARLY ARTISTS

IN introducing the beautiful Robertson miniatures, about which so much has been written and so little known, for the first time to the American reader, it is instructive to note the progress of a refined sentiment in this country through the freshly awakened interest in the varied portraiture of Washington. Since the issue of the "Washington Number" of this magazine many a long unused key has been turned bringing to light heir-looms rare and precious—notably the gems of art and silent eloquence which form our frontispiece. It will be seen on a critical inspection of these how materially the portrait of Martha Washington differs from the one hitherto supposed to be the genuine Robertson, which appeared on page 107 in February last. The facts were as then stated in reference to these miniatures having been retained in the family of the artist and made into brooches; but they were never engraved until now. The one heretofore used may have been one of Robertson's later productions, but that remains to be proven. The originals, exquisitely executed on ivory in water-colors, now belong to the two granddaughters of Robertson, Mrs. Charles W. Darling of Utica, and Mrs. S. M. Mygatt of New York city. They represent the artist's first portrait work in this country, while he was spending some weeks for the purpose of study in the Presidential mansion at Philadelphia, and are believed to be the finest examples of his painting extant.

Each of the early artists who interpreted for himself on ivory or canvas the moral energy and genuine nobility reflected from the serene countenance of our great American commander, whose entire life was oppressed with responsibility, illustrated an important chapter in that particular period of our history. Each original portrait—painted from life—has long since become of priceless value to its possessor, and it is an event of exceptional interest when any one of these antique treasures makes, after so many years, its initial bow to the public. The portraits of Charles Wilson Peale are widely dispersed and doubly suggestive as cherished memorials